

Mitt's Meltdown By Joe Klein / Quieting the Mobs By Fareed Zakaria / Kickstarter p. 32

TIME

**5
IDEAS**

THAT
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(for the better)

BY BILL
CLINTON



GREAT EMPLOYEE BENEFITS? IT'S TIME TO NAME NAMES.



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Photograph by Mark Seliger for TIME; prop stylist: Rob Strauss



Protesters demonstrate at the scene of clashes near the U.S. embassy in Cairo. Photograph by Moises Saman—Magnum for TIME

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Editor's Desk

TIME stories that elicited the most mail

The Mitt
Mirage

The Agents of
Outrage

Check,
Please

Making the World A Better Place



THE LAST TIME YOU SAW Bill Clinton was probably at the Democratic Convention in Charlotte as Barack Obama's most dazzling surrogate. But Clinton has a day job: global philanthropist in chief. As the founder and head of the Clinton Global Initiative (CGI), he has spent the past seven years tackling the world's most intractable problems: HIV/AIDS, climate change and poverty. CGI is a kind of global convener of philanthropists, and the organization estimates that since it began in 2005, it has secured commitments of almost \$70 billion for everything from children's health to conflict resolution.

Our cover story this week coincides with CGI's annual meeting (for which TIME is a media partner). At that meeting next week in New York City, Clinton will host leaders from around the world as well as both President Obama and Governor Romney. It's the only place you'll see the two candidates together this fall besides the presidential debates.

Clinton's cover story this week is not about politics, presidential or otherwise, but the largest global trends that are actually improving the planet. At a time when there is a great deal of pessimism about issues like the global economy, the environment and health care, Clinton sees positive forces in technology, energy and human rights that are transforming the globe. After all, he is one himself.

Rich

Richard Stengel, MANAGING EDITOR



THE CONVERSATION

'A smart, fair and, importantly, reported article'

was how Gawker's Max Read summed up **Bobby Ghosh's** Sept. 24 cover story for TIME, **"The Agents of Outrage."** Ghosh placed the violent protests over an amateurish film denigrating Islam in the context of "an industry of outrage"—provocateurs in the U.S. and elsewhere who are bent on making mayhem in the nascent democracies that are emerging from the Arab Spring. As Ghosh described this volatile mix on the CBS program *Face the Nation*, **Bob Schieffer** observed with dismay, "We have to get used to it." PBS's **Charlie Rose** called for stronger Muslim leadership to counter spreading unrest. "Are we talking about a war within Islam?" Rose asked. "It seems ever more necessary to have moderate voices to speak out."



Up Next

Paramount Pictures chose a snow-covered mountain. MGM went with a ferocious lion. At Universal Pictures, it was the earth as seen from space. Film buffs will recognize these images as the iconic logos of Hollywood's major movie studios. TIME explores their backstories in an online gallery launching Sept. 24 at time.com/studiologo.

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IF WE ask the right questions
we can change the world.

Briefing

'My job is not to worry about those people. I'll never convince them that they should take personal responsibility and care for their lives.'

1. **MITT ROMNEY**, captured on video at a private fundraiser, describing the "47% of the people who will vote for the President no matter what" as people who are "dependent upon government"

'In past negotiations, taxpayers paid more, but our kids got less. This time, our taxpayers are paying less, and our kids are getting more.'

2. **RAHM EMANUEL**, mayor of Chicago, after reaching a proposed contract settlement with the city's teachers' union, ending a seven-day strike

'We are not going to call it a complete success until this results in children.'

3. **MICHAEL OLAUSSON**, one of a team of Swedish doctors who performed the world's first mother-to-daughter uterus transplant

'Things might look a little different, but we're not walking away.'

4. **LIEUT. COLONEL RICHARD SPIEGEL**, spokesman for the U.S.-led military coalition in Afghanistan, on the news that it has sharply curtailed ground-level operations because of a recent spike in attacks on troops

'I'm not such a pervert.'

5. **E.L. JAMES**, author of *Fifty Shades of Grey*, explaining that she's glad the trilogy is popular because it means other women share her fantasies

2030

The year more than half of all Americans will be obese, according to a new study; the cost to treat that epidemic could be as high as \$66 billion



2 MILLION

Number of people who preordered the iPhone 5 in its first 24 hours, doubling what the iPhone 4S moved in that same period

50,000

Approximate number of people evacuated from the University of Texas at Austin because of a bomb threat; similar incidents occurred at colleges in North Dakota, Louisiana and Ohio



185

Number of demonstrators arrested on the first anniversary of the start of the Occupy Wall Street protests



Briefing

LightBox



Somber salute

A Civil War re-enactor lights a candle in Maryland on Sept. 15, two days before the 150th anniversary of the Battle of Antietam, which left nearly 23,000 dead or wounded—the bloodiest one-day clash in U.S. history

Photograph by Michael Reynolds—EPA
lightbox.time.com






World



On the Edge of Extinction

2 | SOUTH KOREA The International Union for Conservation of Nature listed the world's 100 most endangered animals and plants, focusing on species of little benefit to humans. Here are four on the brink:

| | | | |
|--|---|---|---|
|  90-256 REMAINING LIBEN LARK Could be mainland Africa's first recorded bird extinction |  100-160 GREATER BAMBOO LEMUR Its rain-forest habitat is threatened |  <100 SEYCHELLES SHEATH-TAINTED BAT This agile flyer faces near certain extinction |  4 RED RIVER GIANT SOFT-SHELL TURTLE All four left are living in zoos |
|--|---|---|---|



Chinese paramilitary police watch an anti-Japanese protest in Beijing

Spoiling for a Fight

1 | CHINA U.S. Secretary of Defense Leon Panetta certainly picked a sensitive date to visit China. Sept. 18, the day he arrived in Beijing, was the anniversary of the 1931 Mukden Incident, when imperial Japan began its invasion and brutal wartime occupation of China. That tragic moment in history shouldn't necessarily affect modern Sino-American ties, but China and Japan are embroiled in a territorial dispute that has dragged those countries' relations to their lowest point in years. As Japan's top ally, the U.S. has been pulled into the fracas, which involves a scattering of uninhabited islets in resource-rich waters that the Chinese call the Diaoyu and the Japanese label the Senkaku.

Earlier in September, after Tokyo's fiery nationalist governor, Shintaro Ishihara, threatened to buy some of the islands from their private owner, the Japanese government announced it would nationalize the outcroppings instead. That decision unleashed days of anti-Japanese protests across China. Thousands of Chinese hurled bottles, rocks and eggs at the Japanese embassy in Beijing. Elsewhere in China, protesters torched Japanese cars and forced Japanese-owned factories to suspend production. "I hope there's a war between China and Japan," said retired farmer Zhang Tihai at a Beijing demonstration on the Mukden Incident's 81st anniversary. "That will settle things once and for all."

Last year President Obama promised to pivot U.S. foreign policy toward an ascendant Asia. The shift was also meant to contain a rising China. In addition to its conflict with Japan, Beijing is sparring with other maritime neighbors, including Vietnam and the Philippines, over specks of land in the South China Sea. "A misjudgment on one side or the other could result ... in conflict," Panetta warned at the start of his trip, which included a stop in Japan.

The U.S. has said it takes no position on who actually owns these disputed Asian islands. By the time Panetta landed in Beijing, the anti-Japan rallies had reached fever pitch. A Chinese leadership usually allergic to rowdy public gatherings had given the protesters a long leash. "F--- Japan," one Chinese university student, who gave his name as Kevin, yelled in English. Then he added, "F--- America." Chinese flags waved, and the crowd joined the frenzied chorus.

—HANNAH BEECH/
BEIJING

ITALY

'It shows in a completely natural way the daily life of a very famous, young and modern couple in love.'

ALFONSO SIGNORINI, editor in chief of Italian magazine *Chi*, defending his decision to release more topless photos of Kate Middleton; the British royals launched a criminal complaint against *Chi*'s sister magazine *Closer* in France, which was ordered to hand over its images





Living on a Prayer

3 | LEBANON Pope Benedict XVI watched a theatrical performance during his visit to the residence of the Lebanese Maronite Patriarch in Bkerke. During his three-day trip to Lebanon, where more than 30% of the people are Christian, the Pope attempted to encourage them in a region that has seen their numbers dwindle in recent decades. The Pope also addressed the crisis in Syria, reiterating his calls for an end to the violence.

The Thin Red Line

4 | ISRAEL Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu repeated his call for the U.S. government to set a "red line" for Iran's nuclear program that, if crossed, would require military action. Netanyahu said the international community has to force Tehran to comply with Western demands because economic sanctions have not slowed down Iran's nuclear effort. In response, U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton said the Obama Administration is "not setting deadlines." Tensions are running high between the two sides, as the U.S. believes there is still time for sanctions and negotiations to stop Iran from building nuclear weapons, while Israel argues that time is running out. Netanyahu's jab at Obama seems to indicate that the right-wing Israeli Prime Minister is trying to influence the U.S. election. For its part, Iran insists its nuclear program is meant solely for peaceful uses, but few observers take Tehran at its word.

U.K.

**18 lb.
1 oz.**

Weight of the world's heaviest onion, presented by Peter Glazebrook at the Harrogate Autumn Flower Show on Sept. 14; the previous record—17 lb. 15.5 oz.—was also set by Glazebrook, in 2011



Risking It All for Walmart?

5 | INDIA Prime Minister Manmohan Singh wants to revive investors' flagging faith in the Indian economy. That's why, despite vehement opposition, he pushed through economic reforms that allow foreign companies like Walmart to participate substantially in the country's vast retail market. His coalition partners have threatened to bring down the government over the issue. But if Singh holds firm, here are three ways India's overwhelmingly rural economy could be transformed.

1

Less waste

The reforms would let foreign retailers own 51% of their Indian operations. With more at stake, they may be more willing to invest in refrigeration and other basic technologies—like crates for transporting vegetables—that would reduce the estimated 30% of produce that's lost to spoilage.

2

Richer farmers

If allowed in, big retailers will try to deal directly with farmers, cutting out middlemen who take most of the profits as food goes from farm to table. Traders, who stand to lose the most, could block retail reform in states where they are politically powerful.

3

More produce abroad

Once they have built a supply chain in India, supermarket retailers could use it to sell more Indian goods, like mangoes, overseas. This has become a hugely successful strategy for carmakers, which can already own 100% of their Indian ventures and are using India as a sourcing hub for the rest of the region.

Nation



State of the Race. Obama leads, but a shifting landscape and October's debates leave an opening for Romney to prevail

By Mark Halperin



| EDGE | OBAMA | FACTOR | ROMNEY | EDGE |
|------|--|-----------------------|---|------|
| | The Democrats' Charlotte convention revved up the left, adding volunteers, new voters and cash contributions to the incumbent's ledger. Enthusiasm for the President and freshened anti-Romney feeling are a strong combo. | PARTY SUPPORT | The addition of GOP darling PAUL RYAN to the ticket has failed to put Romney fully right with the right. Conservative pundits and elected officials remain quick to turn on their unloved presidential nominee. | |
| | With MICHELLE OBAMA drawing crowds in excess of 10,000 at some venues (courting volunteers and registering voters) and Explainer in Chief BILL CLINTON expected to hit the campaign trail all autumn, the Democrats have unmatched all-stars. | SURROGATES | Republicans will need stepped-up efforts from the McCains, Christies, Rubios and JEB BUSHES of the world to compete. Ann Romney is more a nifty TV performer than a road warrior, but she's on the hustings. | |
| TIE | The President's day job has taken him away from some scheduled prep sessions, but he's been quietly studying for a long time; the folks running his debate camp are steady pros who leave nothing to chance. | DEBATES | Romney has never done a one-on-one debate at the presidential level, and the pressure to pull off a game-changing performance is overwhelming. Still, when given time to prepare, he usually delivers. | TIE |
| TIE | JOE BIDEN enunciates the campaign's core "Choice" election message as well as anyone else, hitting rural states and smaller markets and earning mostly favorable local news coverage, complete with winning (or at least memorable) photo ops. | RUNNING MATES | Ryan isn't drawing much national coverage and has misstepped here and there. But he's put his home state of Wisconsin in play and flaunts his bio (a young, fit, wholesome, CATHOLIC hunting enthusiast) to good effect. | TIE |
| | Obama has the biggest U.S. election army ever assembled, with grizzled veterans at the top (including in the White House), a colossal Chicago operation and scores of experienced field workers and volunteers spread across the nation. | CAMPAIGN TEAM | Romney's forces are growing bigger but are still dwarfed by the opposition. Some accounts of internal tension among top aides have been a distraction; a larger challenge is to rally a unified final push from behind. | |
| TIE | Presidential aides remain baffled by Romney's inability to capture the middle-class-jobs flag, while Obama has erased his rival's edge with voters on THE ECONOMY . Team Re-elect expects to be outspun but thinks favorable news coverage will help Obama survive the barrage. | MESSAGE AND MONEY | Time grows short for the challenger to consistently drive a single compelling message on the economy and leadership. But if he can find his voice, ROMNEY has sufficient opportunity—and TVAD BUYS —to make his case. | TIE |
| | The President's team believes it is positioned to potentially win every state he took in 2008's robust victory except INDIANA , which would give him a comfortable 347 electoral votes. | ELECTORAL COLLEGE | The challenger remains behind in too many swing states to look like a plausible victor, barring a stunning surge of undecided voters. Weakness in Ohio could be the deciding factor, just as it was for JOHN KERRY in 2004. | |

BARACK OBAMA: GUY LAWRENCE; MITT ROMNEY: JIM C. MOSENFELDER; MICHELLE OBAMA: CHARLES DOLAN/AP; BIDEN: TIM PENNINGTON; CLINTON: GETTY IMAGES; ANN ROMNEY: ROBERT BECK/AP; JEB BUSH: JEFFREY MAYER; PAUL RYAN: CHARLES DOLAN/AP; ROMNEY FOR PRESIDENT: GETTY IMAGES; AD: ROMNEY FOR PRESIDENT; NC: TV TODAY; CORKRAN: GETTY IMAGES



Tech

I Spy. Smart-phone parental controls are nothing to LOL about

By Victor Luckerson

TECH-SAVVY PARENTS HAVE SPENT YEARS using cell phones, those ultimate tools of adolescent aloofness, to snoop on their kids. Now, thanks to a series of sleek, smart new apps, that fringe practice is going mainstream—with a vengeance.

Recently, the Life360 smart-phone app, which taps GPS technology to provide real-time info about family members' whereabouts, logged its 20 millionth download. Similar apps such as Footprints (iPhone) and SMS Tracker (Android) are racking up hundreds of thousands more. (Many are free, but some cost \$5 a month.) The programs have become so convenient that, according to estimates by the Swedish telecom-research firm Berg Insight, more than 70 million people across North America and Europe will be using them by 2016.

That's a mixed blessing for families. Although proponents of the apps extol their safety benefits—one of them, SecuraFone, shuts off texting when a phone is traveling more than 5 m.p.h.—“many of these apps inadvertently send the wrong signal,” says Enrique Velasco-Castillo, a mobile-tech analyst at IHS Screen Digest who has a master's in cognitive science. “It's like saying, ‘I don't trust you to tell me the truth about where you are, so I will need to install this on your phone to track you.’”

Compliance too can present problems. Because the apps aren't native to phones' operating systems, resourceful teens could in theory circumvent password locks or simply uninstall them, much as they can

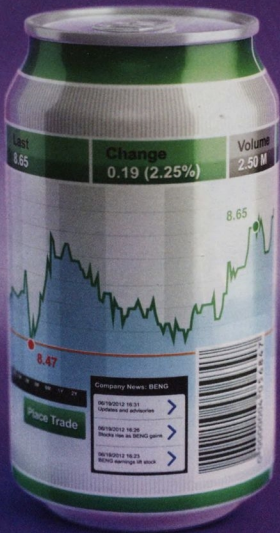
with website-blocking software on the Internet. And many have already filled the app stores with negative reviews, which could discourage downloads. “It's wack and won't let me do anything and is blocking me from having a social life!” laments one Google Play patron of Mobiflock, which parents can use to block access to questionable apps, among other things.

For 12-year-old Gabriel Dattilo of Los Angeles, however, Life360—while certainly intrusive—is far better than the alternative: physical parental supervision. “It's hard to let go of our babies,” says Gabriel's mom Jessica Denay, who plans to use the app to monitor his Halloween trick-or-treating from afar. “This makes me feel better. I know that he's safe.”

70 million

PEOPLE EXPECTED TO BE USING MONITORING APPS IN EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA BY 2016





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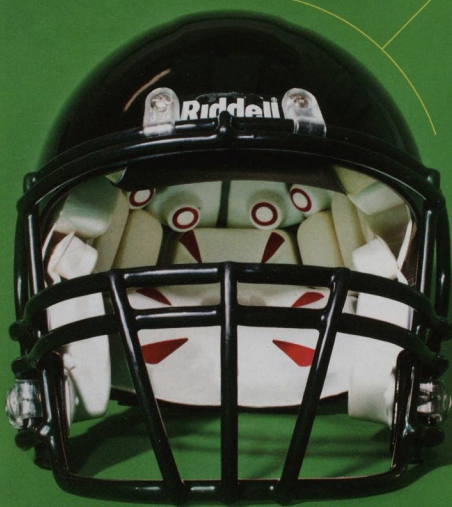
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Health&Science

Field Goal. How scientists are making football safer

By Alice Park



1

BETTER HEAD PROTECTION

At Wake Forest Baptist Medical Center, researchers are collecting data from youth players wearing helmets equipped with sensors that can record the force and direction of a hit. This information will be paired with brain scans and cognitive tests of players taken at the beginning of the season and could ultimately be used to build better commercial helmets.

2

SMARTER INFO ABOUT WHEN TO BENCH

When dazed players come off the field, they generally can't go back on if their hips sway more than 30 degrees while they're standing (a sign of potential head injury). Doctors now just eyeball the distance, but Cleveland Clinic researchers are using iPad accelerometers and gyroscopes to make the measurement more accurate.



An iPad strapped to the waist helps measure movement

3

MORE-PROTECTIVE FACE GEAR

To gather more information on how the brain reacts to blows, scientists at Stanford University developed a mouthpiece embedded with sensors that can record the linear and rotational force of impacts and are often more accurate than sensors on helmets, which can shift during play.



It's a given that football players will get roughed up on the field. But how much is too much?

A recent study of retired NFL players shows they are four times as likely to die of a brain disorder like Alzheimer's as those who didn't play. And former players like ex-Redskins quarterback Mark Ryphen who say they weren't adequately protected on the gridiron have filed

a class action against the league, putting the NFL on the defensive. Commissioner Roger Goodell has vowed to make the game safer; last year the league helped decrease concussions 40% by moving the kickoff from the 30-yard line to the 35-yard line. And the NFL is considering rules that would restrict linemen to a two-point stance (thus forcing them to be more upright and thereby

avoid head collisions) and eliminate headfirst plays for running backs.

The real action, though, is in labs, where researchers are studying how head injuries happen during games and why "no one concussion is like the next," says Dr. Richard Ellenbogen, co-chair of the NFL's head, neck and spine committee. Here's how that work could result in a much safer sport.

Milestones



DIED Russell Train

Before he became one of the U.S.'s pioneering environmentalists, Russell Train was steeped in Washington culture. He was the son of a Navy rear admiral who had worked in the Hoover Administration. And for over a decade, Train had a respectable career in government service. He was serving as a U.S. Tax Court judge in 1965 when he left to become head of the Conservation Foundation. Inspired by safaris he took, Train, who died Sept. 17 at 92, focused on an important idea: as the nation's economy continued to grow, projects both public and private should consider environmental impact.

Train would circle back to government service. He convinced Richard Nixon that environmental issues could animate voters and became the first chairman of the White House Council on Environmental Quality. He was an architect of the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969, which, among other provisions, required that federal agencies prepare environmental-impact assessments for large projects. He became the second Administrator of the EPA, where he helped implement the Clean Air Act, the Clean Water Act and the Endangered Species Act. Train left government for good in 1977 and headed the World Wildlife Fund—U.S. Though he stepped down as chairman in 1994, he continued to check in on its Washington offices nearly every week until just before his death. —NATE RAWLINGS

DIED
Louis Simpson, 89, poet and academic who specialized in poems of everyday life in the U.S.; his collection *At the End of the Open Road* won the 1964 Pulitzer Prize.

PRESENTED
The U.S. Congressional Gold Medal, to Burmese opposition leader Aung San Suu Kyi; the medal was awarded in absentia in 2008 while Suu Kyi was detained in Burma.

EXPIRED
At midnight on Sept. 16, the collective-bargaining agreement between players and owners in the National Hockey League, triggering a lockout, the second in the past decade, that threatens the upcoming season.

DIED Lia Lee

To Merced, Calif., doctors, Lia Lee, who died Aug. 31 at 30, had been a toddler with epilepsy who required anticonvulsant medication. To her Hmong refugee parents, who were animists, Lia was a blessing who suffered from *gaug dab peg*, an illness in which "the spirit catches you and you fall down," so they treated her with shamanistic rituals. At age 4, Lia was left brain-dead after a grand mal seizure. The culture clash is the subject of *The Spirit Catches You and You Fall Down*, Anne Fadiman's award-winning 1997 book that has become a case study in cross-cultural medicine and the immigrant experience and is required reading at many medical schools. Before settling in California, Lia's family was part of the 150,000 Hmong who fled Laos after communists took over in 1975. —OLIVIA B. WAXMAN

Lee, shown in a photo held by her mother Foua Yang



DIED
Albert Marre, 87, Tony Award-winning director of more than two dozen Broadway plays, including *Man of La Mancha*, which ran for more than 2,300 performances.

PUBLISHED
Cartoons ridiculing the Prophet Muhammad, by French satirical newspaper *Charlie Hebdo*, not long after a film made in the U.S. sparked Muslim protests.

DIED
Eva Figes, 80, novelist and critic whose 1970 feminist polemic *Patriarchal Attitudes* helped frame discussions of sexual politics.



DIED Steve Sabol

"We see the game as art as much as sport," Steve Sabol said last year when his father Ed was inducted into the Pro Football Hall of Fame. Their enterprise, NFL Films, imprinted professional football in American mythology, and Steve, who died Sept. 18 at 69, won 35 Emmys along the way. He wrote, shot, produced and directed the documentaries, seen weekly on TV, which were heavily dramatized with slo-mo shots and booming soundtracks. **SPORTS ILLUSTRATED** called NFL Films "perhaps the most effective propaganda organ in the history of corporate America." But what captivated fans of Steve's images for nearly five decades was the appeal to the emotions that lie at the heart of a brutal game. —N.R.



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Joe Klein



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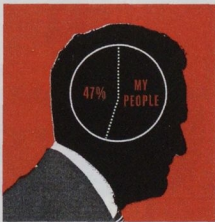
The Imaginary Campaign. Romney is running against notions of a President and the economy that are at odds with reality

ON AUG. 31, THE NIGHT AFTER THE Clint Eastwood empty-chair colloquy at the Republican Convention, Jon Stewart identified the radioactive ingredient that would provide the fuel for Mitt Romney's September meltdown. The Republicans, he noted on *The Daily Show*, were suffering from "cognitive dissonance." Like Eastwood, they were campaigning against a Barack Obama who was a figment of their imagination. "There is a President Obama that only Republicans can see," he said. That Obama—the Muslim socialist foreigner—was "bent on our wholesale destruction." The mad fact is, Stewart was only scratching the surface. We now know that Romney has been running not only against an imaginary President but against an imaginary electorate as well. This is an electorate in which 47% are looking for handouts, don't pay income taxes and won't "take responsibility... for their lives."

How utterly insulting to the legions of hospital workers, restaurant (and country club) employees and security guards who work their butts off servicing the plutocrats Romney was addressing at his now infamous fundraiser in Boca Raton, Fla. These workers barely get by, but they are helped a bit by benefits—like the earned-income and child tax credits invented by Republicans—that limit their exposure to income taxes (although they continue to kick in payroll taxes and pay a host of state and local levies). The great irony is that the vast majority of Romney's 47% would be shocked to learn that they're among the freeloaders, which is why this incident might not, in the end, have all that much impact on the presidential campaign. Romney was right about the larger picture in Boca: this election will be decided by a sliver of middle-class independents, the 6%

who can't decide which of these candidates they disdain more.

The conservative commentariat and fat-cat contributors are mystified by Obama's buoyancy. This election should have been a rout, they believe, even for a candidate as lame as Romney. The President is weak, inept, a job killer leading the economy off a cliff. Ah, but there's that cognitive dissonance again: the Romney campaign is running against a phantom economy as well.



Indeed, the Republicans—and the press—have latched onto the one economic statistic that Democrats usually emphasize and that has traditionally led Democrats astray: unemployment. Members of the public certainly are worried about the inability of the economy to create jobs and especially about the employment problems their children will confront. But let's face it: if you add up all the unemployed, underemployed and those who've abandoned the workforce, you're still looking at maybe 15% of the labor market.

And while the Romney campaign was sleeping, the other 85% have seen their circumstances change. "Their household income hasn't improved," says Mark

Zandi, chief economist at Moody's. "But their household balance sheets are very quickly moving in the right direction." The soaring stock market has restored their 401(k)s to their former plenitude; the values of their homes are creeping back above the waterline in some areas and booming in others; and, Zandi says, we are approaching "historic lows" in delinquency rates on consumer credit-card debt and auto and appliance loans. Our nation's feckless freeloaders have behaved responsibly since the 2008 crash. They've reduced their debts. They're feeling better about their circumstances. And suddenly, the percentage of people who think the country is on the right track is surging, especially in important swing states like Ohio, where the economic picture has improved dramatically.

It is the business of a presidential challenger to overstate the dire situation the incumbent has inflicted on a betrayed public. Bill Clinton certainly overstated the extent of the economic recession in 1992. But there are limits. There is reality. In this country, successful politicians have always avoided apocalyptic predictions. This year, however, Republicans have routinely embraced the dark side. If Obama is re-elected, "I don't know that our country really survives four more years of all the regulations," Senator Rand Paul told CNN's Wolf Blitzer during the Republican Convention. Blitzer called him on it, saying, "Wait a second. If President Obama is re-elected, you think the United States of America, in four years, will not be the United States of America?" Paul beat a hasty retreat.

Romney has lived the past six years in his party's overheated shark tank, spending more time pestering plutocrats for cash than meeting with and listening to the general public. I suspect Romney doesn't really believe that 47% of the electorate are moochers; he was just dialing for dollars. But it's becoming increasingly difficult to see how the man who mouthed those words, whether he believes them or not, can be elected President. ■

The Upside of Mystery

Obama and Romney have been called aloof. Why that may not be such a bad thing

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER WOULD have disliked just about every aspect of the 2012 presidential election. He would have thought President Obama was debasing his office by getting personal in his attacks on Mitt Romney. He would have cringed at Romney's *heh-heh-heh* laughter over jokes that are rarely funny. In his own time, war hero Ike was a huge celebrity, but he would have been appalled by today's celebrity culture. He would not have understood why candidates' wives should give speeches to humanize their husbands or why presidential aspirants should disclose much of anything about their faith or private lives.

It's easy to look at Romney and Obama, slopping about in today's politics, and lament. Why can't they be more like Ike? (And they might wonder the same: Eisenhower averaged an approval rating of 65%.) In important but little-noticed ways, maybe they are. Romney and Obama don't like parading their emotions either. Romney can come off as plastic, Obama as aloof; they are both deeply private men who would have been more comfortable as politicians in an earlier, more buttoned-up time. (As an African American, Obama, of course, could not have been elected until fairly recently, but that's a different story.) It's an irony of the 2012 campaign that in a populist age, with resentment running high against the so-called elites, voters will be choosing between a pair of cold fish from Harvard.

To the public, Ike seemed like a much warmer man than either Obama or Romney. But few people understood Ike; even his wife Mamie admitted she didn't really know him. For my new biography of President Eisenhower, I asked his son John about the apparent even balance between the sunny, genial Ike and the cold-blooded Ike. "Make that 75% cold-blooded," John said with a slight smile.

But the presidency is, inevitably and necessarily, a very lonely job. Presidents are constantly forced to make close-call

decisions, sometimes in real time and with inadequate information. Presidents get plenty of advice, but often it's bad or timid. I was struck, while reading a revealing profile by Michael Lewis in this month's *Vanity Fair*, by how much Obama resembled Ike behind the scenes. He operates like a Socratic professor with his advisers, constantly testing and challenging their logic and insights. President Eisenhower would sometimes take all sides in a National Security Council debate, never revealing his own position. Likewise, other reporting suggests that Romney,

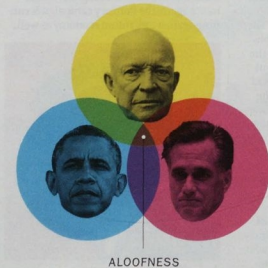
of State John Foster Dulles to play bad cop to the President's good cop.)

The private nature, the essential shyness of Romney and Obama, gives fits to their consultants and handlers, who go to painful, sometimes laughable lengths to "demystify" their candidates. Presidents, without exception, grow to hate the glare of the press. Obama doesn't watch cable-news shows, according to Lewis. Seeing, as he entered a room, a cable-TV commentator holding forth on the President's reasoning and motives for a particular decision, Obama remarked, "Oh, so that's why I did it," and walked out.

Eisenhower was less wary of the press, whom he met every other week—far more often than modern Presidents. Ike was so confident, he might afford to play dumb. Warned to be careful before one particularly contentious press conference, Ike laughed, "Oh, don't worry. I'll just confuse them."

A present-day President would not try to get away with playing dumb. And it's perfectly true that Presidents need to be good at p.r., that the bully pulpit is an essential part of presidential leadership. But it's worth remembering that the most important decisions

a President makes—in a crisis, with the clock ticking—are lonely ones. Presidents look inward (or upward) to know what to do. Their inner selves, not their outer selves, are what really matter. If Presidents do not readily reveal themselves or their intentions, they can have more room to maneuver. Ike understood that there can be power in mystery.



the shrewd businessman and investor, demands data and hard facts and is dissatisfied with pat or doctrinaire answers. As President, the great war hero Ike also "led from behind," as an aide defined Obama's role in liberating Libya from Muammar Gaddafi. Operating by indirection and doing one thing while seeming to say another, Eisenhower avoided American military entanglement in Vietnam, Suez and Hungary. Romney is criticized, deservedly, for his all-over-the-map foreign policy pronouncements. But as Ike navigated between isolationists and hard-liners in his party, he was often elusive and even contradictory. (Eisenhower used Secretary



Thomas, a Ferris Professor of Journalism at Princeton University, has written eight books. His latest is *Ike's Bluff: President Eisenhower's Secret Struggle to Save the World*



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James Poniewozik



Best Served Cold

The Romney video shows us big-money politics as seen from the catering table

THERE ARE PLENTY OF PEOPLE OUT there analyzing what Mitt Romney said in the secretly recorded fundraising dinner video that *Mother Jones* magazine posted online Sept. 17. I'll let other pundits continue to debate what his comments about "the 47%"—who, he told a banquet table of donors, pay no income tax, depend on government and are destined to vote for Barack Obama—say about his campaign, his base and his character.

Me, I couldn't stop looking at the waiters.

We often talk about how campaign controversies, gaffes and images are "framed": presented by the media, spun by opponents. But the most fascinating thing about the Romney video is how it's *literally* framed. We're watching him from what looks like the polished surface of a serving table, the hidden camera surrounded by gleaming barware, a decanter of wine and a candle, tucked away behind the objects of service. We can hear him loud and clear, but we can see only the tiny blur of his head and the backs of his supping \$50,000-a-plate guests.

We see and hear everything, in other words, from the furtive vantage point of the help. Whoever had the camera, he or she must have been able to inconspicuously access the bar, and the bar provides a very particular point of view. As Romney bemoans the culture of dependency in the background, servers in the foreground rustle up ice cubes. As guests ask about the stock market's prospects and why Romney doesn't more aggressively assert pride in his success, white-gloved waiters refill drinks. As donors loudly applaud a second-hand Marco Rubio story about aspiring to wealth through hard work, a waitress quietly asks for clean martini glasses.

All modern candidates, Republican and Democratic, spend time in banquet rooms indulging wealthy donors. (At one point, Romney listens politely as a guest rails against the penny.) We just don't usually see them. So knocking Romney for campaigning in a room of rich people is not in itself a legitimate critique.

But the picture was just awful. Campaign embarrassments are often unfair, in that an image or quote will hurt a candidate more if it reinforces an existing narrative. Your geopolitical fumbles matter more if you're the inexperienced governor of Alaska. Your haircut matters



What the butlers saw The video supplied a staff's-eye view

more if you look like John Edwards than if you look like Bill Richardson.

And if you are Mitt Romney, with Mitt Romney's biography, résumé and bankroll, there are certain things you don't want to be filmed saying in a dining room full of toffs in a Boca Raton, Fla., mansion that looks like a location from *Eyes Wide Shut* (and which was, in fact, once the site of a tabloid-notorious sex party). The visual and class ironies couldn't have been better laid out by the set designer for *The Remains of the Day*. As guests and candidates discuss the intractability of the dependent classes, cutlery clinks, stemware tinkles, a cork pops.

You half expect someone to hoist a champagne flute, adjust his monocle and declare, "A toast, gentlemen! To industry!"

Secret recordings are damaging, first, because they're secret. The mere caption "Caught on tape" puts you on the level of a shady car dealer busted by the News at 11. It suggests—as it did when Obama in 2008 said working-class voters "cling" to guns and religion—that you're saying things about people that you wouldn't say to their faces. The Romney video goes beyond even that; he was saying things about a group of people—that 47% includes low-wage service workers—with them in that same room, serving dessert, enjoined against talking back.

I have no idea what the catering staff thinks of Romney or the election. For all I know, Romney's message of striving and individual enterprise resonates with one of them who wants to own that mansion and sit at that table someday. But when Romney talks about the "entitled" 47% whom he could never persuade to "take personal responsibility and care for their lives," I'm thinking, So does a caterer wait in south Florida, maybe with kids, earn enough to owe income tax after deductions? When a guest asks, "How are you going to do it, two months before the elections, convince everybody, You've got to take care of yourself?" I'm looking at the

server grabbing barware and thinking, You think she's got a health-insurance package? Does it not feel the least bit awkward up there? Because it sure does back here with the wine glasses.

I don't trust anyone who claims to know how this video will affect the campaign. It's a tight election, and the media have pre-emptively called too many things "game changers" that changed nothing. But if it has any effect, it will be the images that do it as much as the words. For one evening in Boca Raton, the people who fund the multimillion-dollar election machine well and truly got served. ■



WORLDVIEW

A Moment for Moderates

If pluralism and radical Islam have a future, stronger voices of tolerance are needed

BY FAREED ZAKARIA

Violence of the mob Protesters throw rocks at Egyptian security forces protecting the area near the U.S. embassy in Cairo on Sept. 14

Photograph by Moises Saman for TIME



WATCHING THE PROTESTS and associated violence spreading across the Muslim world in recent days, I couldn't help thinking, Where are you now, Wael Ghonim? Ghonim is, of course, the former marketing executive for Google who was catapulted onto the global stage in 2011 as one of the organizers of the opposition to Egypt's dictatorship. He became the hopeful face of the Arab Spring—youthful, hip, modern and passionate in the cause of freedom.

Where is he, and the thousands like him, now that freedom is under assault in Egypt again? Over the past few weeks, mobs have gathered to demand the death of a filmmaker—not really a filmmaker but a bigot who made a crude Internet video satirizing the Prophet Muhammad. It provided a pretext that radical Islamists in Egypt pounced on to advance their cause. But whatever the trumped-up origins of the protests, the question facing a number of newly minted democracies from Libya to Afghanistan is clear: With freedom challenged by the violence of mobs and the intolerance of masses, will anyone stand up to defend it?

The answer is a cautious and tentative yes. Ghonim, it turns out, has been present. He has been posting comments on his Facebook page denouncing the violence from Cairo, where he runs a nonprofit focused on education. Amr Moussa and Mohamed ElBaradei, former presidential candidates, have also spoken out, as have prominent clerics in Egypt and Saudi Arabia. Tunisia's President has deplored the violence. In Libya, the elected government has been outspoken in condemning the deaths of U.S. Ambassador Christopher Stevens and three others and denouncing the extremists responsible.

Over the past decade, I have often despaired about Muslim moderates, describing them as cowardly and defensive—too scared to speak out for their principles for fear that they will be branded bad Muslims. But in several countries where the protests took place, many have criticized the extremists and urged people to voice their opposition to the violence in peaceful ways. This is new. Radical Islamists,

rampaging mobs, drummed-up outrage, weak leaders and violence—these are familiar aspects of the modern Middle East. What is new is that there are some voices of sanity, and these voices are authentic. The moderates are quieter than the extremists, but that is true almost everywhere.

Think back over the past decade. The story seldom varies: a Westerner, or a handful of them, does something that attacks Islam (mishandles a Koran, attacks the Prophet). The episode is virtually unknown until radical Islamists publicize it to whip up frenzy, hatred and intolerance. Crowds gather outside U.S. embassies, and violence ensues. The regime disperses the crowds with tear gas and bullets. Order is restored, often by brute force, but the rage endures.

This time, however, many of the Arab regimes are no longer dictatorships, and their crowd-control methods are different. In Cairo, Tripoli and Tunis, governments are trying to navigate between listening to their people and guiding them.

Consider Egypt's President, Mohamed Morsy, who initially condemned just the movie and only later, after President Obama called him, the violence as well. Morsy is a radical who has spouted nasty conspiracy theories about the U.S. He won the presidency narrowly, largely because Egypt's secular and moderate vote split among several candidates. So he is pandering to his base while trying to act with some degree of responsibility as President. In other words, he's behaving like an elected politician. And that is good news of sorts.

Both the symbolism and substance matter. When al-Qaeda urges violence—as it did—the man responding is increasingly neither a military dictator nor a tribal prince but an elected leader. In Egypt, he is the leader of the region's most powerful Islamic political movement. The latter is likely to be far more persuasive in making Egyptians—and Muslims everywhere—understand that tolerance must become a core Islamic value in the modern world.

Complicating this picture is timing: these protests have come at a crucial moment in the Middle East. The Arab Spring



of 2011 has been followed by economic collapse, political dysfunction and, in many places, the rise of political Islam. In hard times, it is easy to fan the flames of hatred and intolerance. But it is precisely in these hard times that modernity and freedom need to be promoted and defended. And they must be defended by those who have gained the most from democracy: the Islamic political parties. Freedom of speech has meant that members of Islamist parties in places like Egypt and Tunisia can finally express themselves without fear of being killed. Will they now offer those same protections to others?

Few in the Arab world are defending the kind of largely unalloyed freedom of speech with the vigor of those in the West. But it is important to remember that it took the West a long time to embrace broad freedom of expression,



Democracy's birth? Or just chaos? Egyptian security forces seen through a banner amid clashes in Cairo on Sept. 13

especially when it involved attacks on core religious beliefs and symbols. Blasphemy was severely punished even in Britain—thought to be the most liberal country in Europe—in the 18th and early 19th centuries. Even in the U.S., public tolerance for attacks on religion was low until recently. In their recent book *American Grace: How Religion Divides and Unites Us*, Robert Putnam and David Campbell write, “In round numbers ... about two-thirds of [American] churchgoers who came of age before 1945 rejected free expression for antireligious views, whereas about two-thirds of churchgoers who came of age after 1965 tolerate such views.” Egyptians are debating their new constitution, and many parties are advocating the adoption of blasphemy laws. If this is the path Egypt follows, it will

be a blow to the country's progress and a setback for the already-too-slow modernization of Islam. Muslim countries need more tolerance, not less.

As people watch the crowds and the violence, they must surely be thinking, Why is there so much anger in the Arab world? In the wake of the 9/11 attacks, many serious scholars and journalists, myself included, wrote extensively about the stagnation and repression in Arab countries that had produced bitterness over their failings, anger with the West and a search for a solution in Islam. The U.N.'s Arab Human Development Report documented the region's backwardness. All those conditions—economic dysfunction, illiteracy, female subjugation—still exist. Indeed, some have gotten worse. But some conditions have

improved in many Arab societies. There is greater openness, more freedom and some kind of fragile democracy.

That means that as Muslim societies begin to breathe, we are hearing a diversity of voices. Many are nasty, intolerant and bigoted. But others, like those of Libyans Mohamed el-Magariaf and Mahmoud Jibril, are moderate and modern. It's not clear who will win. The Arab world could witness the rise of illiberal democracies—places where people vote but individual freedoms suffer—or democracy and liberty could slowly reinforce each other.

And what about the U.S.? Did America cause this turmoil? The argument made by Mitt Romney and several other Republicans—that these protests are a consequence of Obama's policies—utterly misses the point. Muslim anger has been building for decades and stems from deep internal causes. Does anyone think Ronald Reagan's policies caused the death threats against Salman Rushdie? Some long-standing U.S. strategies do play into the grand Muslim narrative—for example, the decades-long support for Arab dictators and monarchs, policies toward the Palestinians and concern about oil supplies. But the frustrations being unleashed in the region today are a response to much deeper forces as the Arab Spring has opened up these cultures and people have discovered their own politics. Egyptians once had the freedom to denounce only the President of the United States. Now they can denounce their own President. This internal power struggle, not U.S. policy or White House rhetoric, is at the heart of the turmoil.

Every non-Western society is searching for a path to modernity that it can feel is in some way local, authentic and, in that sense, non-Western. It's tough because the West invented modernity. As these societies search for their own paths, the U.S. and the rest of the West can and should help them build modern societies and better the lives of their people. But we should also recognize that above all this is their fight. It really is about them. ■

TO READ MORE
BY FAREED
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On the run in Cairo
During clashes near
the U.S. embassy on
Sept. 13, protesters flee



Coal, Hard Truths

After policy clashes, coal miners, wildcatters
and refiners are fueling the campaign to
deny Obama a second term

BY MICHAEL SCHERER

OHIO COAL MINER ROBERT E. MURRAY, 72, is still wearing oversize steel-toe boots and a shirt that reads BOB over his heart when he mispronounces President Obama's name for the third time. Coming from one of the nation's top-producing coal executives, the heavy accent is no accident. "I say *Bear-ick* Obama because I never heard the word *Barack* before," he explains. "My wife keeps telling me, 'It's Barack.' O.K., Barack. It's Barack. To me, it's *Bear-ick*."

To the 1,600 coal miners Murray employs in Ohio, to the reporters he meets, to the Republican politicians he supports with millions of dollars in fundraising and to just about anyone else who listens, his complaint is the same: Obama is trying to destroy the U.S. coal industry. "Bear-ick Obama is the greatest enemy that these regions of the country have," Murray says

from his office overlooking the rolling hills of southeastern Ohio. "If we give Obama a second term, I can't keep it together."

Such predictions would matter less if his firm, Murray Energy Corp., which shuttles millions of tons of coal a year onto river barges destined for nearby power stations, operated in another state. But in every presidential election since 1964, whoever won Ohio also won the White House, a record that looks likely to be extended this year. So for Murray, who sat out the 2008 race because he felt little love for John McCain's energy policies, defeating Obama has become something of a crusade. "This is permanent destruction to America," he says about the Administration's approach to coal. "Obama ain't heard the last from guys like me."

Murray may be Obama's biggest

This rock may
stand between
President Obama
and a second
term





headache in a state where he leads by about 4 points. At the front gate of one of his three mines in Ohio, a plant foreman has hung a FIRE OBAMA banner the length of a hopper car. When Vice President Joe Biden visited the county in May, Murray's general manager recruited teams off the graveyard shift to protest in their hard hats. And when Mitt Romney came through in mid-August, Murray closed his mines and told his employees to attend a Romney rally, at which Murray provided hot dogs, soda pop and a magician to entertain their kids. "I tell you, you've got a great boss," Romney told the miners after riding in from the airport with Murray.

The battle over the U.S.'s energy future is one of the clearest choices presented to voters in the 2012 campaign. In his 2011 State of the Union address, Obama dismissed oil companies as purveyors of "yesterday's energy." Now many of those same companies have joined with the nation's coal magnates to pour money and ground troops into the election, determined to make Obama yesterday's President. Industry ads promoting coal, oil and gas and often attacking Obama's vaunted clean energy as a boondoggle have filled the airwaves in swing states. And some of the biggest names in the business have been getting off the sidelines to take a public stand against the President.

Joseph Craft III, the CEO of the coal firm Alliance Resource Partners, has so far given \$2.6 million to outside groups advertising against Obama. Another coal concern, Alpha Natural Resources, and its executives have given \$600,000 to a group funding anti-Obama ads. William Koch and his coal, oil and gas firms, like Oxbow Carbon, have given \$3 million to the anti-Obama cause, while his brothers David and Charles Koch, who are also in the oil business, have mounted an effort to raise as much as \$400 million. Other ads that either boast of fossil fuel's potential or attack Obama's policies have been aired by groups as varied as the American Coalition for Clean Coal Electricity, the American Energy Alliance and the American Petroleum Institute. Murray himself has organized multiple fundraisers. "That community is much more animated," says Tim Phillips, president of Americans for Prosperity, a group founded by David and Charles Koch that will not disclose the source of the near-

ly \$100 million it plans to spend this cycle to influence the election. "They realize that this is a President who isn't just ambivalent about them but for ideological reasons is seeking their demise."

The Fading Green Dream

OBAMA, OF COURSE, SAYS HE DOESN'T want to kill off coal. Instead he favors an "all of the above" energy strategy, with more funding for clean-coal technology, the opening of new domestic oil and gas drilling and further investment in alternative energy sources. "It's clear folks like these have an agenda, but the facts don't fit their rhetoric," Obama campaign spokesman Frank Benenati says of the industry opposition. "The truth is that employment in the coal-mining industry in Ohio has increased 10% since President Obama took office."

But there is little question that Obama wants to extract more revenue from—and place more regulations on—oil, gas and coal producers than Romney does. In 2011 the Administration instituted new limits on emissions of mercury, arsenic and other toxins from coal-fired plants, a move the Environmental Protection Agency says will prevent as many as 11,000 premature deaths, 4,700 heart attacks and 130,000 cases of childhood asthma every year once it is fully implemented. The coal industry is pushing Congress to repeal the rules, saying the new standards will lead to higher electricity rates. Romney, meanwhile, has vowed to repeal the new mercury rules and roll back other regulations

to limit carbon emissions. "Mitt Romney will reverse the President's war on coal and instead implement commonsense regulations," says Chris Maloney, Romney's Ohio spokesman. On Sept. 19, just after Alpha announced 1,200 coal-worker layoffs, including many in the swing state of Virginia, the Romney campaign debuted two new ads with coal miners. "The policy the current Administration's got is attacking my livelihood," says one.

Meanwhile, in the election-year equivalent of a Freudian slip, the Obama campaign published a webpage touting its "all of the above" strategy in May that left out coal as an energy source, listing instead "energy efficiency." (The campaign quickly corrected the mistake.) To this day, Obama is more likely to bring up fossil fuels as a foil than as a resource. His campaign regularly condemns attacks from Big Oil and promises to fight to remove as much as \$4 billion in tax breaks for the oil industry. "Now is the time to end the subsidies for an industry that's rarely been more profitable," Obama said in his campaign-kickoff speech in Columbus, Ohio. "Let's double down on a clean-energy future that's never been more promising."

That line served Obama well in 2008, when he cast himself as a futurist who could chart the nation's course to a promised land of tradable carbon credits and battery-powered cars. The greatest legacy of his 2009 stimulus bill may end up being its \$80 billion in green-energy investments, including \$3.4 billion for clean-coal research. Back then, Democratic fundraising among green-technology companies the party championed was seen as an antidote to the long-standing cash advantage Republicans had enjoyed with the oil industry. But as economic anxiety has deepened and the domestic clean-energy industry has struggled to find markets, concern about the environmental impact of pollution has waned. In March, 55% of Americans polled by Gallup said they worried about global warming, down from 66% in 2008. Political contributions from alternative-energy companies to Democrats have dropped precipitously over the same period.

At the same time, new drilling technologies like fracking have led to a boom in domestic oil and gas production. The number of operating domestic oil rigs

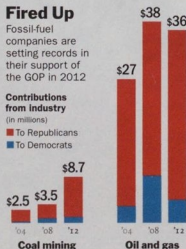
Fired Up

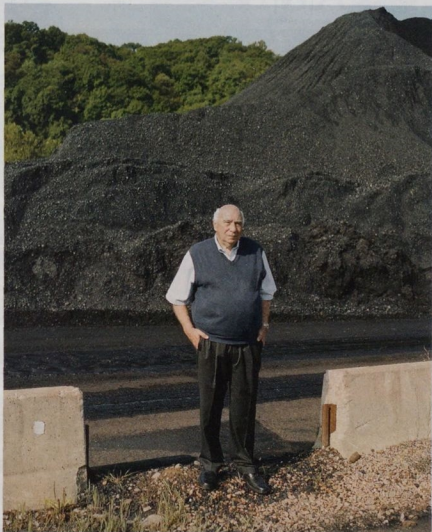
Fossil-fuel companies are setting records in their support of the GOP in 2012

Contributions from industry

(in millions)

■ To Republicans
■ To Democrats





Murray warns of "permanent destruction to America" if Obama wins

is near a 25-year high, largely because of new exploration on private land. Domestic natural gas recovery from fracking has allowed methane—for the moment at least—to outcompete coal as the most cost-effective source of electricity generation. Harold Hamm, a leading developer of shale-oil fields in North Dakota and a Romney adviser who has chipped in nearly \$1 million to fund advertising against the President, argues that Obama misread the energy landscape in 2007. "He had a policy based on scarcity," said Hamm at a May conference of oil developers in Bismarck. "That is certainly not the case. He has had a wave that just crested over him." A frequent visitor to Capitol Hill to testify in defense of the oil and gas tax breaks Obama has targeted for elimination, Hamm offers a simple message to voters: "Beat Barack Obama."

For his part, Romney aggressively courted fossil-fuel donors and made coal and oil a central part of his stump speech. When he lists his five-part plan to create jobs, he begins with energy, saying

he wants to make better use of coal and open more public land to oil drilling than Obama has. "He's made it harder to mine coal, harder to use coal, harder to get a reliable supply of natural gas, harder to get drilling for oil," Romney said at a recent event in Virginia. This is a big shift from Romney's days as governor of Massachusetts, when he was an outspoken critic of the pollution caused by coal-burning power plants. "I will not create jobs or hold jobs that kill people, and that plant, that plant kills people," Romney announced in 2003 outside a coal-burning plant in Salem, Mass., that had failed to meet even the lower emissions standards of that time. Romney no longer emphasizes the human role that he still believes is leading to a warming of the world's climate.

Jack Gerard, former head of the National Mining Association and current head of the American Petroleum Institute, is a longtime friend of the Romney family's, a policy adviser and one of Romney's biggest fundraisers and supporters in Washington. (Gerard's son, also named Jack,

works for the Romney campaign.) "When you talk about a vision for energy policy in America, it is a very bright contrast," the elder Gerard says of the coming choice between Obama and Romney.

The Battle in Ohio

IT IS DIFFICULT FOR A DEMOCRAT TO WIN Ohio without taking a large share of mostly white votes from the state's southeastern hills, where its coal industry is based. "The Democratic areas of this state are Cleveland and here," Murray says of Belmont County, a traditionally blue stronghold that Obama carried by 2 percentage points in 2008. "And I can tell you right now, he isn't going to carry this area."

But if Murray's part of the state looks much the same as it did when Jimmy Carter won it in 1976, other parts of the state do not. Once solidly Republican central Ohio is now decidedly swing, and even reliably conservative Cincinnati went for Obama in 2008. And if southeastern Ohio is still coal country, northeastern Ohio has now become a significant producer of natural gas—which is cheaper and cleaner to burn than Ohio's plentiful bituminous coal. The state's energy politics are changing. Which is why the election in Ohio is in some ways a referendum for voters on the state's past and future.

Over his 50-year career, Murray has always been attuned to larger political forces. He created his current company in the late 1980s to survive the regulation of coal-fired power plants under amendments to the Clean Air Act that passed in 1990. Now he talks of making sure his company is "Obama-proof," citing a range of new worker-safety rules, watershed-protection proposals and air-pollution regulations that have been pursued by the Administration. "I couldn't have known about Bear-ick Obama when I designed this company," he says.

A longtime foe of the United Mine Workers who rejects the threat of global warming as bad science, Murray says he is motivated by one thing: preserving the livelihoods of his workers from the "Hollywood characters, unionists and wealthy elitists" who oppose dirtier forms of energy. "If I can't fight Obama off," he says, pointing in the direction of the Ohio Valley shopping center 20 miles to the north, "these malls will be empty." ■



The

Kickstarter

Economy

How crowdfunding is changing the way new businesses get their start
By Harry McCracken

Co-founders Adler, Chen and Strickler have helped thousands of creative ideas find funding.



Photograph by Ryan Pfluger for TIME



"AS MANY OF YOU KNOW, THE ENTERTAINMENT industry is filled with incredible scripts written by incredible talent that have not or will never get made. Or worse, they'll get changed into something that is nowhere close to what the original creator envisioned."

The speaker is a suave, bearded gent in a striped bow tie and burgundy cable-knit sweater. He's seeking financing for *Anomalisa*, a film written by Charlie Kaufman, the author of the screenplays for *Being John Malkovich*, *Adaptation* and *Eternal Sunshine of the Spotless Mind*. He gives a sales talk that's convincing—inspiring, even.

He also happens to be an animated puppet. That's less peculiar than it sounds. *Anomalisa* is a project on Kickstarter, the highest-profile website engaged in the crowdfunding of new ideas, including everything from board games to offbeat tech gadgets to movies. An engaging sales video, like the one hosted by the puppet pitchman, is critical to a project's success.

This one did the job: the stop-motion animated featurette breezed by its \$200,000 funding goal, raising more than \$400,000 from 5,770 backers in a month. These patrons won't receive an ownership stake. All they'll get in return is a warm, fuzzy feeling and a thank-you gift scaled to the size of their pledge, starting with a thank-you on the movie's Facebook page and a downloadable video clip offered to anyone who donated at least \$5.

The extraordinary thing about *Anomalisa*'s crowdfunding story is that it isn't extraordinary. In 2010 the creators of *TikTok* and *LunaTik*—watchbands that let you strap an iPod Nano to your wrist—made headlines when they used Kickstarter to raise \$942,578. This year's biggest win-

ners are larger by an order of magnitude: Pebble, a smart watch that uses electronic-ink technology, raised \$10.3 million, and Ouya, a pint-size gaming console that runs Google's Android software, received \$8.6 million.

And it's not just Kickstarter. Over at Indiegogo, the other big-time crowdfunding site, online cartoonist Matthew Inman set out to raise \$850,000 to help turn the Long Island lab of electrical pioneer Nikola Tesla (1856–1943) into a Tesla museum. Halfway into his monthlong campaign, he had already raised \$1,251,144 from more than 30,000 individuals, some of whom put up as little as \$3.

"This notion that people will pay prospectively for something they want to exist is fundamentally new," says publisher and technologist Tim O'Reilly. But it's a logical development on the Web, the most efficient tool ever devised for pooling the interests and resources of large numbers of disparate people.

Wikipedia proved that the crowd can collect the world's knowledge with a level of ambition—if not always accuracy—that rendered the dead-tree *Encyclopaedia Britannica* obsolete. Twitter has repeatedly shown that the crowd can often report breaking stories faster than traditional news-gathering operations do. Millions of Facebook members clicking Like buttons efficiently puts articles, videos and other items in front of other people who might enjoy them.

The crowd also turns out to be pretty talented at identifying and bootstrapping promising creative endeavors. Two Kickstarter-funded documentaries have been nominated for Academy Awards. *Cards Against Humanity*, a game whose versions dominate the top slots on Amazon.com's list of best-selling playthings, was originally financed through Kickstarter. In July, *Publishers Weekly* theorized that the site may have effectively become the second largest U.S. publisher of graphic novels.

Could Kickstarter and its crowdfunding competitors and imitators end up competing with venture capitalists and angel investors?

So could Kickstarter and its crowdfunding competitors and imitators end up competing with venture capitalists, angel investors and other sources of funding for start-ups of all sorts? Entrepreneurs could use the help. In 2011, total U.S. venture-capital investments were off by more than 70% from their peak in 2000 right before the dotcom bubble burst. Good ideas are surely dying on the vine for lack of money.

Among the people who hope crowdfunding will come to the rescue is President Obama. In April he signed the JOBS (Jumpstart Our Business Startups) Act, which relaxes securities regulations in the interest of encouraging crowd-funded investment in companies of all sorts. Sometime next year, after the Securities and Exchange Commission has done due diligence, it should be possible for a site like Kickstarter to engage in a democratized form of venture capital, finding backers who will invest in start-ups in return for an equity stake.

Except it's not that simple. For one thing, Kickstarter itself has no interest in becoming a start-up factory. What its founders care about is helping creative people pay for one-off projects with a well-defined beginning and end—whether or not they have the potential to be profit-making enterprises.

That passion originated with a question that Perry Chen, a musician and native New Yorker living in New Orleans, asked himself back in 2001, when he wanted to throw a late-night music bash to coincide with that city's jazz festival. "What if the audience could help fund this event?" he remembers wondering at the time. "If we could raise the funds necessary, great. If not, it just doesn't happen at all."

Chen didn't solicit money, and his event never happened. Still, the notion stayed lodged in the back of his brain. Years later, back in New York, he began working on the idea with music journalist Yancey Strickler and designer Charles Adler, who became Kickstarter's co-founders. The site debuted in April 2009 with Chen as CEO.

Today, despite the outside impact it's having on multiple industries, Kickstarter remains a lean operation; it only recently hired its 42nd employee. Other numbers associated with the company are also smaller than you might guess. As I write, 3,508 projects are seeking funding on the site—a dinky, dinky number on a Web on which 350 million eBay listings are active at any given time.

Kickstarted projects on display at the Manhattan headquarters



Quinn lemon-and-sea-salt microwave popcorn (raised \$27,881)

The Funklet, a booklet of classic funk beats for drummers (raised \$8,285)

CD given to backers of Neil Gaiman and Amanda Palmer's music-and-storytelling tour (raised \$133,342)

New York Makes a Book, co-created by its 100 backers (raised \$3,329)

Glif, a tripod mount and kickstand for the iPhone (raised \$137,417)

Creatures, a card game that lets players design their own animals (raised \$56,173)

By definition, the Kickstarter enterprises that get the most ink, such as Pebble and Ouya, are outliers. "The typical project raises five grand and is supported by 85 people," says Strickler. "So you can learn the first names of the people who got you started."

Strickler and his partners have never stopped being excited about these itty-bitty efforts. Their enthusiasm for their invention is infectious—Strickler has personally sponsored over 700 projects—and when I chat with them at the company's offices in a ramshackle walk-up building on New York City's Lower East Side, the projects they bring up are mostly small and deeply personal: music

albums, a board game, artisanal jam.

Whether they involve film, fashion or food, the Kickstarter projects that flourish tend to have a lot in common. Their developers set realistic goals. They produce slick show-and-tell videos. They update their community of backers regularly with progress reports.

They also realize that their supporters' advice can be just as valuable as their cash. When Julie Uhrman, Ouya's CEO, put the console on Kickstarter, she already had a prototype. But it evolved further. Backers pointed out, for instance, that some of the buttons on its controller might be tough for color-blind users to distinguish. "It's really fascinating to design

a product with your audience," she says.

None of this is a cakewalk. "It's a nice job, but it's a job," says Roman Mars, who was able to rustle up \$170,477 to produce a season of 99% Invisible, his San Francisco public-radio program about design. "Luckily, in my case it was a job where people threw money at me."

Mars lavished attention on the gifts he offered to backers, from a \$15 notebook to a \$10,000 bundle that included underwriter messages on his show and an in-person presentation anywhere in the world. Worldly goods and other tangible incentives, however, are only so important. "Most people are happy to help you on your way. That's probably 99% of it," says Alison Klayman, who used Kickstarter to help finance *Ai Weiwei: Never Sorry*, her award-winning documentary about the Chinese dissident.

In one way or another, many Kickstarter hits feel as if they serve a higher purpose. "The trick—and this is the trick to a lot of marketing—is that you don't want to sell people a product," says Jake Bronstein, a Brooklyn-based entrepreneur who set out to raise \$30,000 on Kickstarter and wound up with nearly 10 times that amount. "You want to sell them a dream."

Bronstein's dream involved underwear—premium men's underwear made in a 100-year-old Pennsylvania factory using California cotton and Florida elastic. He aimed to make pledging as little as \$5 a stirring patriotic statement in an era in which nearly all undergarments are manufactured in far-off countries.

Anyone who pledged at least \$15, which Bronstein says was his break-even price, was entitled to receive underwear. Once he found that he'd sold more than 18,000 items this way, "it meant a seismic shift in my thinking," he says. "When I put the video up, I planned on managing this myself. It took me five weeks to realize I was in over my head."

Bronstein, who had told backers to expect their underwear in June, was forced to pause his project while he hired folks with experience in the apparel industry. As of press time, he was planning to ship the first packages by the end of September.

Overambition is a common snag with Kickstarter campaigns, particularly when products need to be designed, manufactured and distributed. Ethan Mollick, an assistant professor at the University of Pennsylvania's Wharton School, analyzed 471 projects in the design and technology

categories and concluded that 75% of the ones that promised to send backers physical goods in return for their pledges didn't meet their own deadlines.

In a worst-case scenario, backers could end up wasting their money on an impossible dream—or at least one that is impossible to fulfill on anything resembling the original timetable. In July 2011, a company called ZionEyez raised \$343,415 from more than 2,000 individuals, most of whom pledged \$150 or more in exchange for the promise of receiving a pair of eyeglasses with a built-in HD video camera. It planned to ship the first glasses that winter.

Then its plans slipped. And slipped. And then ZionEyez (which changed its name to Zeyez) stopped posting Kickstarter updates altogether. In September 2012, the company resurfaced and said it was seeking a million-dollar investment from traditional sources to proceed. It apologized to its backers for its crummy communications. It did not, however, offer refunds.

Kickstarter fiascos are rare: only 3.6% of the creators in Mollick's study were forced to issue refunds or went uncommunicated. But projects carry no guarantees. And when they go awry, Kickstarter won't help. The site, which receives a 5% commission on funds raised by successful projects, doesn't vet creators for their ability to accomplish their goals and doesn't mediate when they fail to meet them.

If Kickstarter sounds as if it's not ideally suited to dealing with the challenges of garden-variety start-ups, that's because it isn't. In fact, there are whole categories of projects the site prohibits, including some that would put it in more direct competition with venture capitalists, such as social networks and e-commerce sites. If there's a next Facebook or a next Amazon—or, for that matter, a next Kickstarter—it likely won't be funded via Kickstarter. As Chi-Hua Chien, a partner at the legendary Silicon Valley venture-capital firm Kleiner Perkins Caufield & Byers, reminded me, venture capitalists generally see gadgets of the sort that do well on Kickstarter as risky investments with limited upside. But he went on to say that "it's highly likely that Kickstarter-like funding will eventually be involved in funding a meaningful percentage of companies."

Other sites, of course, will be happy to go where Kickstarter won't—including Indiegogo, which already allows small

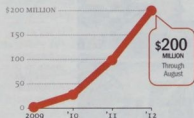
Crowd Pleaser

Kickstarter bypasses traditional fundraising by collecting funds for projects directly from the public. The site accepts 75% of submissions

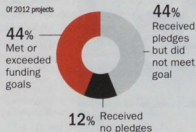
Projects launched

1,454 2009
28,718 2012 Through August

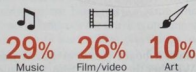
Total dollars pledged to projects



Pledges are not collected unless funding goals are met



Most accepted projects fall into three categories



Charity, tuition, "fund my life" projects and open-ended fundraising are not accepted

Top funded projects by year



Source: Kickstarter

businesses of all sorts to raise money. According to Funding Launchpad, there were 138 crowdfunding sites in the U.S. as of February; among the start-up-centric ones are CircleUp, Fundable and PeerBackers.

But the more crowdfunding starts to look like old-fashioned venture capital, the less relevant its success stories are. People who invest money in conventional start-ups expect a return on their investment but run a meaningful risk of losing it all. The prospect of opening the option up to the teeming masses is decidedly controversial.

"Crowdfunding does have a role in the investment field," says O'Reilly. "Like if your favorite pizza place wants to open a second location—it's a known business with known cash flow. But to be the equivalent of venture capital, that's just nuts."

Nuts or not, the JOBS Act guarantees that the experiment will happen. "It's going to take a few years to shape and mold this thing into what works well, but you're not putting this cat back in the bag," says David Marlett, founder of a new trade organization called the National Crowdfunding Association.

The fact that Kickstarter intends to sit out any theoretical boom in general-purpose crowdfunding doesn't mean that the site is maxed out. It's certainly easy to envision its participants supporting projects of yet unreached magnitude. Maybe even ones that could make lots of money.

Just ask Dan Harmon, the creator of NBC's *Community* and an executive producer of *Anomalisa*. I did, and he began fantasizing about Vince Gilligan, creator of AMC's *Breaking Bad*.

"If he were to get on Kickstarter and say that he wanted to make a \$6 million feature, that he knew the crew and the locations and it was going to star [*Breaking Bad* lead] Bryan Cranston—of course that \$6 million would be generated in 60 days. It only takes people with that kind of street cred, people who have proven themselves not to be snake-oil salesmen, who can give people what they want."

Whatever happens, Kickstarter's founders seem to be comfortable with the tension between their rather specific vision and other possible manifestations of the revolution it's helping unleash. "Maybe Kickstarter looks the same in five years," muses Strickler, "but the rest of the world looks more like Kickstarter." More and more, it already does. ■

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Transmission Control Center



THE CASE FOR Optimism

From technology to equality, five ways
the world is getting better all the time

BY BILL CLINTON

OUR WORLD IS MORE INTERDEPENDENT THAN EVER. BORDERS HAVE become more like nets than walls, and while this means that wealth, ideas, information and talent can move freely around the globe, so can the negative forces shaping our shared fates. The financial crisis that started in the U.S. and swept the globe was further proof that—for better and for worse—we can't escape one another.

There are three big challenges with our interdependent world: inequality, instability and unsustainability. The fact that half the world's people live on less than \$2 a day and a billion people on less than \$1 a day is stark evidence of inequality, which is increasing in many places. We're feeling the effects of instability not only in the global economic slowdown but also in the violence, popular disruptions and political conflicts in the Middle East and elsewhere. And the way we produce and use energy is unsustainable, changing our climate in ways that cast a shadow over our children's future.

But I firmly believe that progress changes consciousness, and when you change people's consciousness, then their awareness of what is possible changes as well—a virtuous circle. So it's important that the word gets out, that people realize what's working. That where there's been creative cooperation coupled with a communitarian view of our future, we're seeing real success. That's the reason I try to bring people together every year for the Clinton Global Initiative (CGI). Here are five areas in which there has been concrete, measurable and reproducible progress.

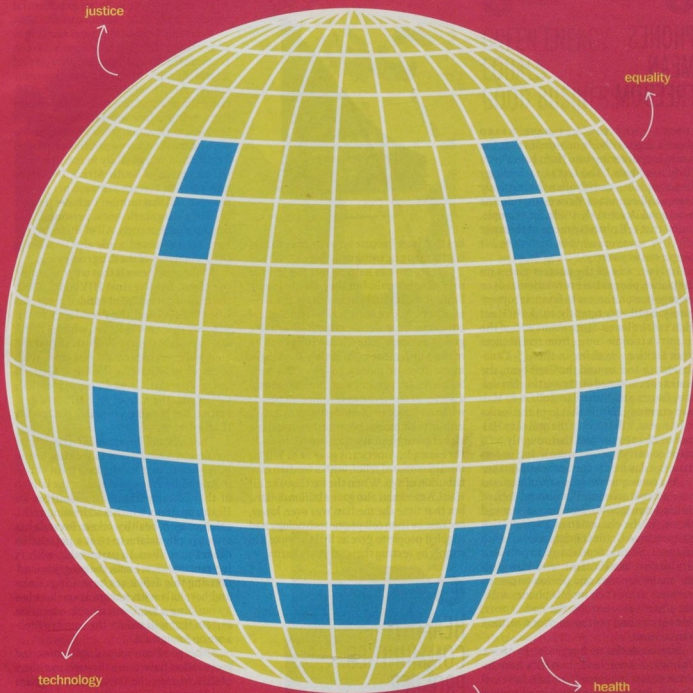
justice

equality

technology

health

economy



1

TECHNOLOGY

PHONES
MEAN
FREEDOM

FORGET WHAT YOU MAY HAVE HEARD about a digital divide or worries that the world is splintering into "info haves" and "info have-nots." The fact is, technology fosters equality, and it's often the relatively cheap and mundane devices that do the most good. A 2010 U.N. study, for example, found that cell phones are one of the most effective advancements in history to lift people out of poverty.

In Haiti, one of the poorest places on the planet, phones have revolutionized the average person's access to financial opportunity. Until very recently, banks in Haiti didn't make loans. Since about 20% of the country's income comes from remittances from Haitians working in the U.S., Canada, France and around the Caribbean, the banks concentrated on converting the dollars, francs and Canadian dollars to Haitian currency. While that kept the banks in business, it didn't help the ordinary Haitian or change the fact that roughly 70% of the country's people were living on less than \$2 a day before the 2010 earthquake.

As a consequence, only 10% of Haitians have a bank account. But around 80% of Haitian households have access to a cell phone. So the chairman of Digicel, Irish businessman Denis O'Brien, worked with a Canadian bank, Scotiabank, to provide a service that lets Haitians withdraw cash and make deposits and person-to-person transfers using their mobile phones without a bank account. By the end of 2011, this service had processed over 6 million transactions.

Similar stories are happening in Africa. Only 4% of households in Africa have Internet access, but more than 50% have cell phones. Because counterfeit medications are a huge problem in sub-Saharan Africa, a CGI member created a company called Sproxil, which lets people in Africa (and now India) use cell phones to text a code on any medication they have to see if it's counterfeit. Ericsson—with the U.N., big-investment firm Delta Partners and an NGO called Refugees United—is helping fami-



lies that have become separated because of conflict reunite using cell phones.

Smart phones help restart the lives of many individuals, but they also help millions of individuals help restart the lives of others. We've seen how technological advances have democratized charitable giving as never before, allowing people to make a difference even if they don't have much time or money to give. The 2004 South Asian tsunami was the first natural disaster in which huge numbers of people who were poor or of modest means gave a little of their money because they could use global communication networks to do it. For example, Americans gave \$1.92 billion toward tsunami relief, with a median contribution of \$50. When the earthquake hit Haiti, Americans also gave a billion dollars, but that time the median was even lower, because by then cell-phone technology had enabled people to give as little as \$5 or \$10 simply by texting their favored charity.

2

HEALTH

HEALTHY
COMMUNITIES
PROSPER

WHILE GOVERNMENTS, THE PRIVATE SECTOR and foundations have long worked to combat major health crises, innovative partnerships among these three sectors have led to greater advancements in building lasting health systems in poor countries than any of those groups could have

made on its own. Working together in innovative ways results in an exponential increase in the good they all can do.

When my foundation began working to address the AIDS crisis in 2002, only 230,000 people in the developing world were getting treatment with lifesaving but expensive antiretroviral medicines. Today, in part because the pharmaceutical industry moved from being a low-volume, high-margin business to a low-margin, high-volume one with guaranteed payments, that number is 8 million. A recent study found that with the exception of South Africa, treatment now costs on average just \$200 per patient per year, and that number includes the cost of drugs, diagnostic tests, personnel and other outpatient costs. All of these savings have been achieved while also improving the profitability of the drug companies.

So the good news is that we're winning the global fight against HIV/AIDS. With the help of government-funded programs like UNAIDS and the President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief, which I think was President George W. Bush's finest foreign policy achievement, together with the work of NGOs like the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation and companies like Coca-Cola, the idea of an AIDS-free generation has become a tangible goal rather than a dream.

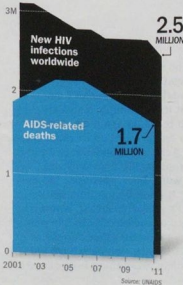
The trioka of government, the private sector and foundations is seeking to improve health care for the long term. I was in Rwanda over the summer for the launch of that country's Human Resources for Health program, which is addressing a critical shortage of health workers. Rwanda has only 633 physicians to treat a population of over 10 million. In partnership with 13 top-ranked U.S. schools, the program is addressing this deficit not by staffing clinics and hospitals with foreign specialists but by building a local, sustainable education system that will reduce the country's reliance on foreign aid.

Other good examples of innovation and cooperation have come through members of CGI. In 2010, the Dana-Farber/Brigham and Women's Cancer Center committed to improve cancer care in Haiti, Mexico, Jordan and Rwanda in collaboration with Partners in Health, co-founded by Dr. Paul Farmer, at their locations and other cancer facilities. Partners in Health has also teamed up with the Rwandan Ministry of Health, the Jeff Gordon Children's Foundation and the Dana-Farber/Brigham and



Women's center to open the Cancer Center of Excellence in Butaro, Rwanda—a part of the country that until four years ago didn't have a basic hospital for a population of over 320,000. The new center goes beyond basics to supply world-class care, not just for local Rwandans but for the entire region.

Finally, in the U.S., where Americans face an epidemic of childhood obesity, one way we're fighting it is to have healthier beverage choices in schools. The beverage industry voluntarily committed to changing the mix in schools across the country by removing full-calorie soft drinks and replacing them with lower-calorie, more nutritious options. At the beginning of the 2009–10 school year, 98.8% of all surveyed schools and school districts were in compliance with the guidelines, which meant that shipments of full-calorie carbonated soft drinks to schools had dropped by 95%.



3 ECONOMY

GREEN ENERGY EQUALS GOOD BUSINESS

THERE'S NO DENYING THAT TOO MUCH OF the world is still mired in an economic slowdown, but some of the brightest examples of significant and lasting opportunity are right under our noses. In tough times, it's harder to accept that some economic instability is good—if there were no possibility of failure, there would be no room for success.

In spite of all the recent criticism of free trade and free markets, it's important to remember that in the 25 years leading up to the current economic crisis, more people worldwide moved from poverty to the middle class than at any other time in history.

The problem is that the population is growing fastest in the areas least able to take advantage of the benefits of the modern world. Talent and intelligence may be spread evenly across the planet, but opportunity is not.

All around the world, in poor countries and rich ones, the private sector, governments and nonprofits are combining their skills and resources to form networks of creative cooperation to boost local economies while addressing problems like climate change and poverty. Smallholder farmers in Africa are planting trees so they can not only harvest timber or fruit but also profit by selling carbon credits on the world market.

But it's hard to top the economic success stories concerning clean energy, and it's tragic that these achievements aren't more widely known. Germany, where the sun shines on average as much as it does in London, reportedly set the world record for electricity generated from the sun in a single day: 22 gigawatts, or roughly the output of 20 nuclear power plants.

Long mislabeled as expensive and unwieldy, the clean-energy sector in the U.S. was actually growing by 8.3% before the economic slowdown, more than twice the rate of the overall economy.

In fact, those European countries meeting their Kyoto Protocol commitments have been among the least hard hit by the economic crisis, including Germany, Denmark and Sweden.

If sustainable energy were bad economics, Costa Rica wouldn't be one of the richest countries in the region, with what is arguably the greenest economy in the world. Costa Rica certainly has one of the world's highest percentages of electricity generated from renewable resources as well as an enormous conservation ethic: 26% of its landmass is in national parks, 51% in forest cover.

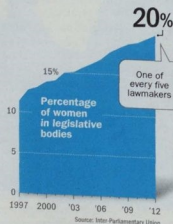
At the moment, I am most optimistic about Brazil, not only because of its significant growth in the past decade but also because of something that simultaneously declined: its level of economic inequality.

Brazilians did it by creating a pile of new jobs and paying poor families to send their children to school and get annual checkups. They did it by controlling their energy destiny, not simply developing their oil resources but also maximizing their hydropower. And they did it while planning to cut by 75% the annual rate of rain-forest destruction. Brazil certainly still has its share of challenges, but its successes have been truly astonishing.

4 EQUALITY

WOMEN RULE

SIMPLY PUT, NO SOCIETY CAN TRULY FLOURISH if it stifles the dreams and productivity of half its population. Happily, I see evidence all over the world that women are gaining social and economic power that they never had before. This is good news not only for the individuals themselves but also for entire societies, for it's been proved that women tend to reinvest eco-



nomics gains back into their families and communities more than men do.

Rwanda provides some great examples. It's changed dramatically since my first visit 14 years ago. Today, Rwanda's per capita income is five times as high as it was in 1998, roads and infrastructure have improved immensely, and—in one of the greatest signs of progress—more than half the members of Parliament are women, making Rwanda the first country to achieve that distinction. Rwandan women are gaining economically too. During a visit to the country this summer, I toured the construction site of what will eventually be a large soy-processing factory. My foundation helped get the project off the ground, but eventually it will be owned and maintained by local farmers and the government. It will create domestic demand for soy, and once completed, it is expected to provide 30,000 farmers in eastern Rwanda—55% of whom are women—with jobs by contracting with them to grow soybeans.

In nearby Malawi, there's a large commercial farm that leverages economies of scale to secure bulk pricing for things like soy seed and fertilizer. On a previous trip there, I met a female farmer who had joined the program and as a result had increased her yield from five to 20 bags per acre, earning double what she had under the old system. With her extra income, she put a new roof on her home and paid tuition to

HOW CLINTON CHANGED PHILANTHROPY

The Clinton Global Initiative, as its founder and namesake once said, is a bit like an eBay of philanthropy, bringing together buyers and sellers in the world of giving. Unlike most other foundations, CGI doesn't disperse grants. Instead, it defines an agenda at its meeting in New York City—this year's, which takes place Sept. 23 to 25, is about "designing for impact"—and invites world leaders, CEOs and celebrities to share the stage with innovators of the nonprofit world. Action is promised, and tangible commitments are made. It's a philanthropic model that only Bill Clinton's charisma and connections could make work. Put it this way: the only place where you'll see both Mitt Romney and Barack Obama this fall—other than a presidential debate—will be CGI's annual meeting, where both are scheduled to appear. They'll be joined at the summit by the new Presidents of Libya and Egypt, along with more than 50 other current or former heads of state. Since its founding in 2005, its members have made pledges worth a combined \$69.2 billion, touching everything from climate change to children's health. —BRYAN WALSH

HOW TO GET INVOLVED

Though you can't donate to CGI directly, here are three organizations the initiative works with:

PARTNERS IN HEALTH Provides medical care in 12 developing nations, including Haiti. Visit www.pih.org

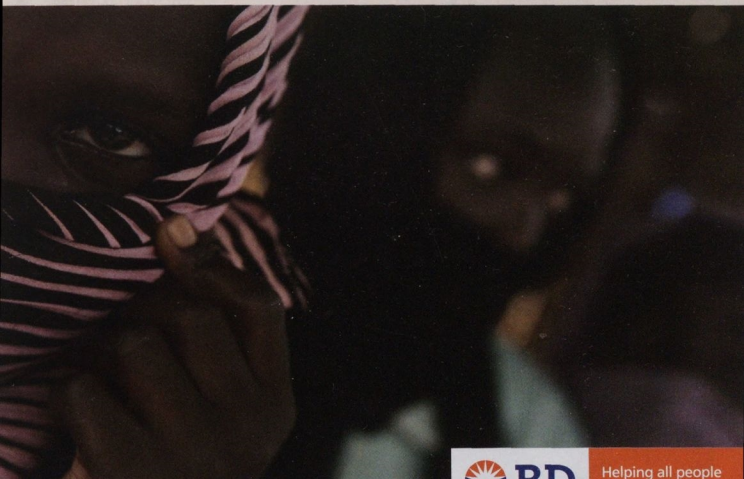
REFUGEES UNITED Helps refugees and internally displaced people around the world find their families. Visit info.reunite.org

HULT GLOBAL CASE CHALLENGE Helps the next generation rethink social issues. Visit www.hultglobalcasechallenge.com



Together for girls
We can end sexual violence

Working together with national governments, civil society and the private sector, Together for Girls mobilizes action to address the global problem of sexual violence against children, particularly girls. For more information please visit www.togetherforgirls.org.



Partners against sexual violence

Sexual violence is a global human rights violation. Together for Girls, launched at the Clinton Global Initiative Annual Meeting in 2009, represents the first global effort to correct this destructive social pattern. Ten international organizations from the public, private and nonprofit sectors – including five UN agencies led by UNICEF, the U.S. President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief, Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, BD and other partners – are working to mitigate the devastating health and human consequences of gender-based violence.

Together for Girls addresses the systemic and societal foundations of sexual violence against children by supporting governments and civil society to implement national surveys, mobilize prevention and protection programs and change social norms through broad-based advocacy.



Helping all people
live healthy lives

Research indicates that sexual violence against girls is a direct and indirect driver of HIV/AIDS spread and other adverse health and social consequences. Fortunately, positive actions are being taken. Legal and policy reforms and improved services for children who experience sexual violence support the ultimate goal to end this global outrage.

Named one of the *World's Most Admired Companies*SM and one of the *World's Most Ethical Companies*SM, BD is dedicated to serving the global community's most important health needs.

BD – Helping all people live healthy lives.

send her daughters to school. So you can see how this work can change not just an individual life but also the fate of a family or the course of an entire community.

The private sector can play a big role here. Gap Inc. has a program called Personal Achievement and Career Enhancement (PACE), which is expanding from India to Cambodia, Vietnam, Bangladesh, China, Sri Lanka and hopefully beyond. PACE focuses on building the life skills of female garment workers and enhancing their career opportunities by providing technical-skills training. Ultimately this helps the workers and managers of garment factories view the welfare and potential of their female line workers as key to their success.

Women face similar challenges in emerging and affluent countries too—but we're seeing signs of progress, particularly in the Middle East. Since 2002, Bahrain's national elections have been open to women. Saudi Arabia has serious modernization efforts under way, and in the past several years there have been more women than men enrolled in institutions of higher education globally.

5 JUSTICE

THE FIGHT FOR THE FUTURE IS NOW

MANY OF THE WORLD'S GREATEST CHALLENGES today are simply modern manifestations of our oldest demons. The truth is, the future has never had a big enough constituency—those fighting for present gain almost always win out. But we are now called upon to try to create a whole different mind-set. We are in a pitched battle between the present array of resources and attitudes and the future struggling to be born.

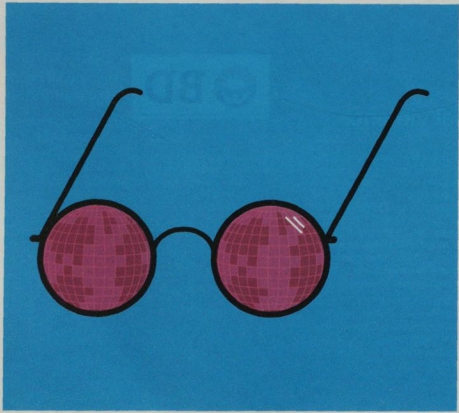
It's struggling just as much in every distressed community in America as it was in Tahrir Square in Cairo. We have to define the meaning of our lives as something other than our ability to control someone else's. The persistent inequality among and within so-

cieties breeds instability and conflict, but there are success stories all over the world that we can use as models for reform.

In places once synonymous with conflict, like the Balkans and Rwanda, former antagonists are now working together to solve problems. In 2011 I attended a global-sustainability conference in Manaus, Brazil, at the edge of the rain forest. Remarkably, utility companies and all the oil companies were represented. The native Brazilian tribes that live in the rain forest, which are protected by law and will be hurt if there's further development, were represented. The woman who ran for President on the Green Party ticket and spoke out against all this development was there. Small businesses and environmental groups were represented. The delegates sat around small tables, speaking to one another with great respect, believing that if they worked together, they could find an answer. They all understood that if this were a simple issue, someone would have already solved the problem.

My last example of why I'm optimistic concerns one of my favorite partnerships, the Hult International Business School and its annual Hult Global Case Challenge. Each year the school joins with leading NGOs to pose a series of real global social challenges, and teams of four or five university students from around the world compete to find the best solution. The NGO partners then receive seed funding for implementing the winning ideas through a \$1 million cash grant.

One of the winners this year was from the Abu Dhabi campus of New York University, and the team was four students: one from India, one from Pakistan, one from China and one from Taiwan. When they came onstage to receive their award and pose for a picture, I asked them, "Are you sure you guys want this in the local paper?" And they said, in various ways, "We are so over this." The differences between India and Pakistan over Kashmir are real, as are the tensions between China and Taiwan, but these students are living 10 years from now. They have something to look forward to, and they set a wonderful example for the rest of us to follow. ■





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ally AUTO.



Miracle worker:
Fetelework
Gezahegne tests
8-month-old Tenaya
Orisa for malaria.

SPECIAL ADVERTISING SECTION

On the Frontline

Community workers are saving lives and transforming health care in developing nations

ON A DUSTY, shaded bench outside the Ramada Health Post in southern Ethiopia, seven women in colorful garb sit with babies in their laps, waiting their turn. When a female worker in jeans and sneakers gently presses a needle into a 1-year-old's thigh, the girl cries softly, but her mother wears a broad smile. She's happy, she explains, because she can now bring her daughter here for vaccinations, or treatment when she's sick.

The woman administering the injection smiles too. "The successes I've seen in my community," says Fetelework Gezahegne, 25, "make me very proud of what I'm doing."

In Ethiopia, which is largely rural, most citizens have long gone without health care because they live in remote villages far from hospitals or clinics. But over the past seven years, the government has trained more than 30,000 health extension workers and built health posts across the country. Now two workers (usually women) at each post can serve 5,000 people in their own communities, providing family planning, promoting sanitary practices and distributing mosquito bed nets and nutritional supplements. They even diagnose and treat illnesses like pneumonia, diarrhea and malaria—all at a fraction of the cost of training a doctor.

"We are talking about simple health problems and simple solutions," says Tedros Ghebreyesus, Ethiopia's minister of health. "Transferring knowledge and skills to the community so the communities can help themselves."

Within the program's first five years, malaria death rates decreased by more than half and new HIV infections fell by 25%. In addition, mortality of children under five dropped by 28%, a lauded outcome "that was essentially accomplished through the expansion of frontline health workers," says Dr. Rajiv Shah, head of the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), which along with UNICEF is leading the charge to eliminate all preventable child

deaths globally—an effort Shah says will be enabled by a strong frontline workforce.

Across the world, frontline health workers—individuals, usually without formal medical training, who are people's first point of care—bring critical health services to developing nations and prevent countless needless deaths. "We estimate that a frontline health worker saves a child's life every three seconds," says Mary Beth Powers, who leads Save the Children's child survival campaign.

These workers treat an array of health issues. Noncommunicable chronic diseases (NCDs) like diabetes and cardiovascular disease are significant problems in developing countries but often go undetected at the initial levels of care, according to Jacob Gayle, executive director of the Medtronic Foundation. The medical device company's foundation supports frontline workers in identifying patients with NCDs. "In India we're funding nonprofit organizations that are developing health apps for use with smartphones," says Gayle. "These technologies enable com-

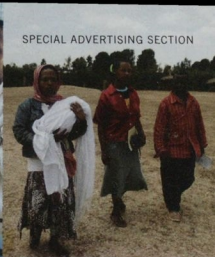
munity health workers to better screen, diagnose and treat diabetes and



Save the Children.

HEALTH WORKERS ARE REAL LIFESAVERS. VISIT WWW.THEREALAWARDS.COM TO MEET INSPIRING HEALTH WORKERS FROM AROUND THE WORLD AND TO NOMINATE A HEALTH WORKER IN YOUR LIFE FOR A REAL AWARD.

At the Leku Health Center in Ethiopia, workers learn how to provide advanced treatment for patients who must travel from villages.



cardiovascular disease so more people receive appropriate care."

Pharmaceutical company Novartis also supports frontline forces by working "to elevate their understanding of treatment and disease and facilitate more quality dialogue with patients to improve long-term health," says Hans Rietveld of the Novartis Malaria Initiative. "As seen in Ethiopia, the training and empowerment of health care workers on the ground is a sustainable model of health care delivery," adds Linus Igwezie, head of the Initiative. But serious challenges remain. Each year more than 7 million children die; maternal death rates stay stubbornly high; and AIDS and TB still ravage many countries and require quality care.


Frontline workers face obstacles of their own, such as the lack of equipment, and often even electricity and running water. Workers also need recognition and support, says Carolyn Miles, CEO of Save the Children. The shortage of frontline workers totals at least 1 million, according to a World Health Organization estimate. "One of the biggest challenges is the political



How often a child is saved by a frontline health care worker.

SOURCE: SAVE THE CHILDREN

will of donors," says Miles.

"The cost of investing in global health is very small," says Shah. "The entire world health and development budget amounts to less than 1% of the U.S. federal budget—and with that we save hundreds of thousands of children's lives. The promise of frontline health workers is more potential for economic opportunity, human growth and dignity, and a more just and peaceful world." 

— ROBIN MICHELI

ANNE-SOPHIE HELMS/SAVE THE CHILDREN



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At Medtronic, we are committed as global citizens to alleviate the burden of chronic, noncommunicable disease worldwide.

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THE FIGHT AGAINST MALARIA

In a race to eliminate a dreaded disease in Africa, Novartis is delivering antimalarials throughout the continent

AS THE DIRECTOR OF GLOBAL access and marketing for the Novartis Malaria Initiative, Hans Rietveld often visits Zambia, one of the African countries that benefits from the initiative through the not-for-profit supply of Novartis' antimalarial. He is touched by the stories he hears from patients about the positive impact this treatment has on their communities.

As the first fixed-dose ACT (artemisinin-based combination therapy), it changed the face of malaria treatment globally after the company introduced it in 1999. Two years later, in 2001, Novartis became the first pharmaceutical company to commit to supplying its antimalarial without profit to the public sectors of endemic countries. The Novartis Malaria Initiative, supported by more than 20 public-private partnerships, has since delivered over 500 million treatments to the public sector in more than 60 countries on a nonprofit basis, contributing to a significant reduction of the death toll from malaria. Since 2000 the malaria death rate has fallen by a

quarter worldwide and by a third in Africa.

And yet the disease is still deadly for many. It kills one African child every minute. "No one should die from malaria anymore," says Rietveld. "It's preventable and curable. The average treatment cost for a child is less than a dollar a day."

The challenge, however, is complex, says the Novartis Malaria Initiative's head Linus Igwemezie, who was born in Nigeria and has witnessed the ravages of malaria on family members. "It's not just a matter of buying drugs and distributing them," he says. That's why the Initiative is multidirectional, focusing on improving access to treatment, building capacity to empower communities to deliver health care, and investing in research and development.

Throughout Africa, for example, stock-outs at rural health posts are common, and restocking can take months. So Novartis teamed up with partners such as IBM and Vodafone to develop the SMS for Life program. Every week, health workers send the Ministry of Health text messages with ACT

counts that are used to create an onscreen map pinpointing supply levels across the country. Couriers on motorbike are then dispatched from oversupplied facilities to posts in need. SMS for Life means that rural facilities can receive their medicine in days—not months.

The award-winning idea was conceived at a National Malaria Control Program workshop—a Novartis Malaria Initiative activity designed so that countries can share best practices and brainstorm new ideas to combat malaria. The most recent one, held in Ethiopia, highlighted the role of community health workers.

And the fight against malaria continues in the lab, where the research arm is developing two new classes of antimalarials. Says Igwemezie: "We have to stay one step ahead of the parasite."

"Malaria is the cause of so much suffering," he adds. "The economic burden it creates is huge and holds African countries back. If we want to strive for a healthier world where these countries can prosper and develop economically, then everyone needs to contribute. Novartis is committed to doing its share." •





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DO YOU
BELIEVE
EVERY GIRL
HAS THE RIGHT
TO AN
EDUCATION?

Yes

☐

Yes

☐

Unbelievably, over 39 million girls in the developing world are denied access to a basic education. But with your help this can change. We need your support by October 11th, the first ever International Day of the Girl, to show the UN that educating girls should be a priority. To make a real and immediate difference, simply go to raiseyourhandnow.com



because **I am a Girl**

The Culture

52 POP CHART World's tallest dog! / **54 ART** Ken Price's indefinite objects / **56 ENVIRONMENT** Fifty years of *Silent Spring* / **58 MOVIES** Cops watching cops; misfits coming of age / **61 RELIGION** Jesus' wife?

Orange (1987), from
the smashing new
retrospective of the late
L.A. artist Ken Price
PAGE 54



Pop Chart



POP-MUSIC EDITION

GOOD WEEK/
BAD WEEK

Adele

The songstress will reportedly provide the theme song for the next James Bond flick

Drake

The R&B singer was named the most pirated musician in America

PROHIBITION



NEW YORK CITY

ADVERTISING

Pop-agenda

After New York City barred restaurants from serving sugary drinks in containers larger than 16 oz., soda fans exploded. So Mountain Dew helped produce a series of snarky street posters that showcase a (fictional) 17-oz. can that riffs on Prohibition. Next up: Mountain Dew moonshine?



BELIEVE IT OR NOT That horse-looking creature is Zeus the Great Dane, a 3-ft. 8-in. Michigan dog that's now officially the tallest canine in the world, according to the 2013 Guinness World Records. Other notable additions: most piercings on the face (280) and largest collection of shoes (15,665).

\$7

Price a woman paid at a West Virginia yard sale for a box of trinkets; it contained a Renoir worth at least \$75,000



TIMELINE

All About Emoticons

Can you believe it's been 30 years since Scott Fahlman, a computer-science professor at Carnegie Mellon, suggested using :-:) to denote online jokes? To mark the milestone, we're highlighting five of our favorite moments in emoticon history. Hope they make you go :-O.

1800s



1862
The New York Times prints :) in a Lincoln speech transcript. Typo? Who knows?

1900s

1971
Frank Loufrani creates a smiley-face icon; it's soon popular with youth

1982

Fahlman invents :-:) to cue a virtual laugh



1997

Nicolas Loufrani (son of Frank) begins work on a dictionary of smileys



2008

iPhone keyboards allow emojis, including the all-important dancing cat

2000s



BACKLASH

The Vagina Dialogue

A book called *Vagina: A New Biography* was bound to raise eyebrows. But Naomi Wolf's latest release, which champions the ties between female genitalia and brains, has critics taking all kinds of shots

SNAPPY

'I read this book in utter bafflement.'

—Jenny Turner, the *Guardian* online

'One almost has to admire Wolf's... imperviousness to mockery.'

—Michelle Goldberg, the *Daily Beast*

'Wolf literally does not understand the meaning of "literally."'

—Zoe Heller, the *New York Review of Books*

'My problem with Wolf is... about how she thinks, or rather doesn't.'

—Suzanne Moore, the *Guardian* online

'It's lucky vaginas can't read, or mine would be cringing in embarrassment.'

—Katha Pollitt, the *Nation*

SCATHING



SUCH GREAT SIGHTS New York has been described as the city that never sleeps, but that's not the glimpse of the Big Apple presented by photographer Matthew Pillsbury. His *City Stages* series, on view through Nov. 17 at Atlanta's Jackson Fine Art gallery, features black-and-white scenes from Manhattan landmarks like the High Line (above)—a park constructed on abandoned train tracks—that were shot using long exposures, giving them a haunting and hazy effect.

QUICK TALK

Cyndi Lauper

It's been nearly 30 years since Cyndi Lauper rocketed to fame with 1983's "Girls Just Want to Have Fun" and "Time After Time." Now 59, the veteran pop star is prepping for a reality show (*Cyndi Lauper: Still So Unusual*, premiering soon on We TV) and a Broadway musical (*Kinky Boots*, opening in March on Broadway) and is hawking her new book, *Cyndi Lauper: A Memoir*, in stores now. —LILY ROTHMAN

You've toured with the Bangles, the Kinks and more. Who was the most fun? I always enjoyed the Bangles. They were fun. With the Kinks, the road crew was a lot different from the band. Sometimes, to an opening act, they can be real bitchy. I was so young—I wasn't really young, I think I was never young in this industry—and finally I said to [Kinks lead singer] Ray Davies, "Listen, if you're not going to give



me the tools to do what I do, I'm not going to be on this tour. I'm going to go be famous on TV." **What do you mean, you were never young in this industry?** When "Girls Just Want to Have Fun" came out, I was 30. They were saying, "How old are you?" and even then I was like, "Why? You think I'm a car? You need to check under the hood and kick the tires?" **You've said in the past that rock 'n' roll can save the world. Do you still feel that way?** It's up to the individuals. The industry has changed a lot. Every kid wants to be famous, but they don't know for what. The reality star has become huge because of the oddity of it, I guess. But then I can't say, because I have a reality show. **Ever bust out your Ethel Merman impression anymore?** I used to do a lot of Ethel singing the Beatles and Johnny Mathis singing "Stairway to Heaven," but no, I don't do that much anymore. Sometimes if it's a late night, I'll do something. But usually it's Maureen Stapleton.

FOR REVIEWS OF THE NEW MOVIES **DREDD 3D** AND **TROUBLE WITH THE CURVE**, GO TO time.com/entertainment



SOCIAL MEDIA Cutting the Mustard

Are you refined enough to associate with Grey Poupon on Facebook? Probably not. Its Society of Good Taste social group accepts just 20% of applicants, judging you on the number of friends you have, books you've read and places you've lived.

3 THINGS YOU DON'T HAVE TO WORRY ABOUT THIS WEEK

- 1. Getting your Dowager Countess fix—if you live in the U.K.** *Downton Abbey* is back on British airwaves; sadly, the rest of us will have to wait months to watch.
- 2. Shakira's relevance.** The Latin pop star will fill in for Christina Aguilera as a judge on the fourth season of *The Voice*; Usher will sit in for Cee Lo Green (legally, at least).
- 3. Clint Eastwood censoring himself.** Asked about his now infamous RNC speech, the actor quipped, "I figure if somebody's dumb enough to ask me to go to a political convention and say something, they're gonna have to take what they get."

Art

Price Is Right A dazzling show sends an artist into the canon

By Richard Lacayo

EVERY SO OFTEN THE WORLD WAKES UP and decides that an artist who's been around for a while, and is even widely admired, is actually something more—like indispensable. This happened 25 years ago with the British painter Lucian Freud, thanks to a retrospective at the Hirshhorn Museum in Washington that made everyone aware of how much was at stake in his every loaded brushstroke. It's happening again right now with the Los Angeles artist Ken Price. The new

retrospective of his witty and mysterious ceramic sculpture at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (LACMA) is an event that settles him firmly in the canon of great American artists. Though Price died in February at 77, he was able to consult closely on the show with Stephanie Barron, the curator who organized it. In galleries designed by his old friend, the architect Frank Gehry, this luscious exhibition—which runs at LACMA through Jan. 6, then moves to Dallas and New York City—is Price as he wanted to be seen. It's a doozy.

From the point of view of long-term reputation, Price spent his career in risky territory. In the hierarchies of art history, marble, wood and welded metal are the stuff of art. Ceramics are just craftwork. Working with clay can get you relegated to the museum-world equivalent of the cupboard, the place where they stash the

Wedgwood china and the Wiener Werkstätte coffee service. But by the mid-1950s, L.A. artist Peter Voulkos was making powerful abstract clay sculptures—scorched, cracked and swollen things that drew on the traditions of pottery while exploding them. Price became Voulkos' student and found his calling.

Within a few years, Price was showing abstract clay objects in retina-searing colors with mysterious openings. They were portable enigmas you could hold in both hands. Like the Surrealist biomorphs they descended from, Price's works resembled all kinds of things—body parts, bird's eggs, secret chambers—without looking exactly like any of them. Look at *L. Blue* from 1961. A roughly heart-shaped form with green tubes emerging from a vertical slot at its center, it invites interpretation but resists any final decoding. Its opening is faintly vaginal and



Hunchback of Venice, 2000. A form that ends (or begins?) with a tiny spout



Venus, 2000. Compelling and sensual, like the goddess it's named for

L. Red, 1963. An object in hot colors, an odd opening, two strange protrusions



the tubes may be phallic, but at the same time they hint at something excremental. And indeed, turd piles are a motif in Price's universe of funny shapes. He's happy to draw delight and disgust into the same small package.

Early on, Price moved away from traditional ceramic glazes to acrylic paints in the Day-Glo palette he used for 1963's *L. Red*, a sunset-colored egg with a field of purple unfurling across it. That painted shape is exactly the kind of applied decoration forbidden by the modernist rule that ornament must emerge directly from "truth to the material," meaning, say, the warp of the clay or the drips and crackle patterns of the glaze. But in the L.A. art scene of the 1950s and '60s, modernist dogma came from too far away—New York City and Paris—to carry much weight. Price and his artist buddies, guys like Ed Ruscha, Billy Al Bengston and

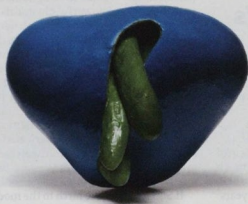
Larry Bell, were learning more from local surfboard glazers and auto-body spray painters.

So Price felt free to go on investigating what happens when you combine suggestive forms and shock-corridor colors in work that could be deeply serious and laugh-out-loud funny at the same time. (Does it help to know that his father assisted in developing the two-stick Popsicle for Good Humor? There were a lot of oddball molds around the house where Price grew up.) In the 1970s and '80s, he moved on to an architectural language of sharp-edged, irregular geometry built from smooth planes of contrasting color, each object offering an abrupt angular opening: a doorway into a black void. Later would come works that turned back to the natural world. So *Big Load* (1988) looks like a psychedelic geode, and *Pastel* (1995) like a lumpy alien seedpod. Their speck-

led surfaces, produced by painting and sanding down each work dozens of times, could resemble some hybrid of granite and frogskin.

And over the past decade or so, Price just cut loose entirely. Pneumatic cartoons like *Hunchback of Venice* and *Venus*, both from 2000, take the pleasure principle out for a long, loopy ride. He was working in what looked like sheer ectoplasm, in larger and freer forms, with associations that might be both anatomical and art-historical. Some of the last works are like merry thought balloons, floating shrewd proposals about life and death.

Price once said, "A craftsman knows what he's going to make, and an artist doesn't know what he's going to make." He took that precious state of not knowing and made the very most of it. That's one more sign he was an artist. And as we now know, indispensable. ■



L. Blue, 1961. Are the green tubes invading or escaping?

Pastel, 1995. A form that seems drawn from nature—a seedpod with a secret



Environment



Carson became interested in the harmful effects of DDT and other pesticides in 1945 as a marine biologist at the U.S. Bureau of Fisheries. When *Silent Spring* was published in 1962, it galvanized the modern environmental movement and led to a nationwide ban on DDT.

Rites of Spring. At 50, Rachel Carson's ecology classic is still under attack

By Bryan Walsh

WHEN MY PREDECESSORS AT *TIME* reviewed ecologist Rachel Carson's book *Silent Spring* 50 years ago this month, they were less than impressed. While the piece praised her graceful writing style, it argued that Carson's "emotional and inaccurate outburst" was "hysterically overemphatic," which I believe is a fancy way of saying that the lady writer let her feelings get the best of her.

TIME's take was gentle compared with the reactions of some of her other contemporary critics. As William Souder writes in his new biography of Carson, *On a Farther Shore*, chemical companies threatened her with lawsuits after she argued that pesticide overuse was ruining the environment and threatening human health. Others insinuated that she was in league with communists who wanted to cripple American agriculture. As a former chemical-industry spokesman put it bluntly, "If man were to follow the teachings of Miss Carson, we would return to the Dark Ages, and the insects

and diseases and vermin would once again inherit the earth."

Today *Silent Spring* is regarded as a masterpiece, one of the most influential books of the 20th century. The criticism of Carson—and the sexism implicit in much of it—is a relic from an age devoted to better living through chemistry. Yet 50 years after its publication and 48 years after Carson's untimely death from breast cancer, there's still a small but vibrant industry in attacking *Silent Spring* and its author.

The claim now is that her polemic against pesticides led the world to phase out the insecticide dichlorodiphenyl-trichloroethane, or DDT. That might seem like a good thing. In *Silent Spring* Carson describes the toxic effects of DDT use on animals, particularly birds, and in 1972 the Environmental Protection Agency banned it partly on the grounds that it was a probable human carcinogen. So long-lived and potent is DDT that even now, 40 years after the ban, most Americans still carry traces of the chemical in their bodies.

But DDT was also effective in killing the mosquitoes that carry malaria. Conservative critics have argued that by turning the world against DDT, Carson crippled efforts to fight the deadly disease in Africa, where it kills hundreds of thousands of people a year. The right-wing Conservative Enterprise Institute maintains a website called *RachelWasWrong.org*, arguing that Carson's "extreme rhetoric generated a culture of fear, resulting in policies that have deprived many people access to life-saving chemicals," namely DDT. In 2005, British politician Dick Tavener wrote that "the anti-DDT campaign that she inspired was responsible for almost as many deaths as some of the worst dictators of the last century."

The Godwinning of Carson ignores a few facts. Carson took pains to make it clear that she wasn't calling for the banning of all pesticides, especially those that might be able to protect human beings against insect-transmitted diseases. Carson simply wanted to bring some balance to the use of powerful chemicals at a time when ecology was barely considered a science and industry had license to do whatever it wanted in the name of progress. As for DDT, many experts believe the pesticide would have been less effective against malaria-carrying mosquitoes in the scattered and remote villages of sub-Saharan Africa than it was in more densely populated North America. Africa's staggering malaria death toll has more to do with decades of Western indifference than it does with a single book.

If *Silent Spring* gave birth to the modern green movement, the critical reaction to it created the blueprint for how industry defends itself against environmentalism. Whether it's pesticides, asbestos or air pollution, the battle plan is the same: question the science, attack the scientists' credibility and warn of unbearable costs. The plan hasn't worked: The U.S. has become cleaner and healthier since *Silent Spring*, and the Dark Ages that serious men warned us about have yet to descend. But the fight is far from over, as the polarized debate over climate change demonstrates. Rachel Carson may have prophesied a silent spring, but the battle between her acolytes and her enemies will be long and loud.



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Movies

True Blue. What real cops think of the new LAPD drama *End of Watch*

By Belinda Luscombe

WE ARE INSIDE A CAR, VIDEO-GAME STYLE, screeching through the scruffier streets of Los Angeles, chasing bad guys. It is tomb silent except for a calm voice. "I am the police. And I am here to arrest you. You have broken the law. I did not write the law. I may even disagree with the law. But I will enforce it." Through the windshield, oncoming semitrailers are narrowly avoided, but the voice stays even. "I bleed, I think, I love. And, yes, I can be killed. And although I am but one man, I have thousands of brothers and sisters who are the same as me. They will lay down their lives for me, and I them." And so it goes, until our car unceremoniously rams into the miscreants' vehicle.

This monologue, which opens the new police movie *End of Watch*, may strike regular moviegoers as sappy. To those in law enforcement, it's more likely to sound like gospel truth, the most wipe-your-eyes-authentic job description ever committed to film. That was the unanimous opinion of 10 Los Angeles Police Department employees and spouses whom *TIME* interviewed after a screening at an L.A. multiplex a week ahead of the film's opening on Sept. 21. Since the movie assumes the patrolman's point of view, we observed audience reaction during a LAPD-only screening and then asked a group of attendees to weigh in on its veracity.

During that opening sequence the crowd is rapt; the film has barely begun, and already those words, spoken by Jake Gyllenhaal's character, get a smattering of applause. Then, right after the crash, something goes awry. The real-life cops start fidgeting and looking down at their complimentary beverages.

Onscreen, the bad guys get out with guns blazing, and Gyllenhaal and his partner, played by Michael Peña, move to the front of their car returning fire. Fail. No police officer worth his 9-mm Glock would leave the protection of a sturdy cruiser while being shot at. "They're trained to seek cover and concealment,"

says Ed Palmer after the screening. Palmer has worked for the LAPD for 27 years, some of them at the Police Academy.

The cops' quick change of mood illustrates the challenge facing director David Ayer in his quest for authenticity. He has to be true to police procedure and the often quotidian routines of beat cops while maximizing the cinematic drama. The cops need to be in front of the car to be seen on the dashboard cam, even if real cops wouldn't. Cinematic value 3, accuracy 0.

BUT IF AYER CAN'T GET THE LAPD IN his sights, nobody can. *End of Watch* is his seventh movie about his local five-o. He wrote screenplays for *The Fast and the Furious*, *Training Day* (both 2001), *Dark Blue* (2002), *S.W.A.T.* (2003) and *Harsh Times* (2005), which was also his directorial debut. The second movie he directed, *Street Kings* (2008), was written by veteran Los Angeles crime novelist James Ellroy. By now, Ayer, who grew up in South Central L.A. before joining the Navy, is an inside trader of cop culture. He has friends in the department he can call on for fact-checking or classified tidbits. "Cops are like children and dogs—they know who likes them," he says. "Behind that badge, it's really a secret society. Outsiders never understand what it's like."

End of Watch, in which two young guns stumble onto a drug- and human-smuggling operation and thereby attract the attention of cartels, is a celebration of the bond between members of the force, which is probably why several in our focus group admitted to tearing up as we watched the cops' last laugh-filled ride

'You find out what they're thin-skinned about, and you hammer them with it.'

—JUAN TORRES, LAPD EMPLOYEE



together. Gyllenhaal plays Officer Brian Taylor, a single white guy with an interest in cinema. (Hence the cruiser cam in the opening sequence.) Peña is Officer Mike Zavala, his married Latino partner—more heroic, less ambitious—with a baby on the way. For the most part, we hear about their lives rather than see them; many scenes are of the two men in the car swapping stories to pass the time before they have to put their lives on the line again. They have no secrets; the partners know things about each other even their wives don't.

Taylor and Zavala seem authentically coplike to our critics in blue, especially in such details as the way Zavala wears his Oakley sunglasses around the back of his skull when he doesn't need them. "Total cop thing," says Christopher Delaney, who works in the Newton area, where the



movie is set. "I lost about 10 pairs before I learned to wear them that way." During one traffic stop, Zavala gets a gun in his face. "Happened to me day two on the job," says Gabriel Chavez, who has worked for eight years in the Southwest area. (The department asked *TIME* not to publish the participants' ranks.)

The racially charged banter between the partners, verboten in most workplaces, also rings true to the police. Taylor mocks Zavala for the size of his extended Mexican family, their endless chatter and the frequency of their *quinceañeras*. Zavala ribs Taylor for his white-person pickiness about artisanal coffee and marriage. In real cop cars, nothing is out of bounds. "Cops can be thin-skinned," says Juan Torres, who has been with the force for 10 years. "So you find out what they're thin-skinned about, and you hammer them with it."

The scenes that skirt with police misconduct draw a more mixed response. Zavala, provoked by a gangbanger, takes off his belt and badge and brawls with him. "I don't think that happens very much anymore," says Jerretta Sandoz, the only female LAPD employee in our group. The others shrug. In another scene, which gets a big laugh, Zavala makes sure his partner has "run the name" of his new girlfriend—that is, checked her criminal record. But when one of the wives speculates that her name had probably been run, the men quickly shut her down. "That would be a serious violation of policy," says Palmer. "I've seen people fired for it."

THE HARDEST PART TO TALK ABOUT, OF course, is the danger. Several of the cops admit to getting misty during a funeral scene. And Diana Delaney, Christopher's

wife, weeps as she talks about her fear that her husband might one day not return.

The senior cop in the group, Oscar Mejia, however, was glad the menace of the cartels was not underplayed. When Taylor and Zavala come upon drug lairs, they also find creepy shrines to the patron saints of the cartels, Santa Muerte and Jesús Malverde. "I've been going around the country trying to teach police departments about what these shrines mean," says Mejia. "If you come across them, you've got a serious problem." Mejia hopes real officers might learn from the movie cops' fatal mistakes.

End of Watch is not the worst cop movie our group has seen. (Several of them nominated Ayer's *Training Day* for that honor.) "It's just nice," says Sandoz, "not to see a crooked-cop movie." From a group trained not to emote, that counts as praise. ■

Movies

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Outsider Art. Misfits begin to bloom in a bittersweet coming-of-age tale

By Mary Pols

FOR NEARLY 30 YEARS, THE LATE WRITER-director John Hughes has been the gold standard for movies about teenagers. Saying a film is nearly as good as Hughes' *Sixteen Candles* or *The Breakfast Club* is practically an anointment. *Dazed and Confused* and *Superbad* are great, funny and true, but they didn't have the level of earnestness folded into coolness that made Hughes' films so special.

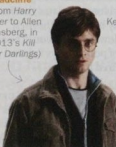
But Stephen Chbosky's *The Perks of Being a Wallflower* stands shoulder to shoulder with Hughes' best. Chbosky's adaptation of his 1999 novel, a portrait of hope and friendship among teenage outcasts, is brave, funny and dazzlingly effective. It's also such a tearjerker that vendors should sell cold compresses at the exits to puffy-eyed patrons.

Charlie (Logan Lerman), a freshman at a Pittsburgh-area high school, is friendless until he's taken under the wings of two seniors, Patrick (Ezra Miller) and his step-sister Sam (Harry Potter's Emma Watson, with an impeccable American accent). Like Charlie, they swim outside the social mainstream, Patrick because he's openly gay and Sam because she was perceived to be too sexually available early in high

school. None of the three principals are unknowns, but they all put their hearts into these roles as if this were their one chance to make it big. Watson, the household name of the group, plays the academic and social opposite of Hermione Granger with the right juxtaposition of vulnerability and strength; Miller, the sociopathic teen from last year's *We Need to Talk About Kevin*, is electrifying. Lerman (*Percy Jackson*) carries the greatest burden—playing a character-narrator whose almost maddening outward passivity masks inner turmoil—and handles it like an Olympian.

Growing Up in Public. Like Emma Watson in *Perks*, these young blockbuster-franchise stars made a transition to more-intimate projects

Daniel Radcliffe
(from *Harry Potter* to Allen Ginsberg, in 2013's *Kill Your Darlings*)



Kristen Stewart
(from *Twilight* to December's Kerouac adaptation *On the Road*)



Zoe Liron
(from *High School Musical* to October's indie curiosity *The Paperboy*)



Robert Pattinson
(from *Twilight* to chilly art-house film *Cosmopolis*)



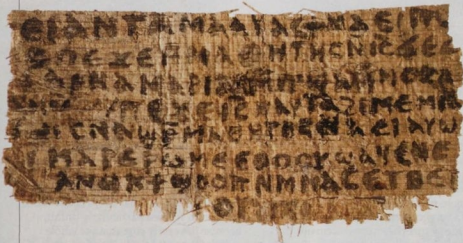
Party sideline Lerman and Watson in *The Perks of Being a Wallflower*

The story unfolds during the 1991–92 school year, although Chbosky, a screenwriter for film (*Rent*) and television (*Jericho*, which he co-created), goes for a timeless feel. The focus is firmly on the social life of the trio and, as Sam puts it, the other “broken toys” from the school. *Perks* is filled with dark material: these wallflowers have endured child abuse, bigotry, tragic loss and heartbreak. But the tone is intimate and enticing as they drive around, make mixtapes, dress up for screenings of *The Rocky Horror Picture Show*, do drugs, kiss surprising people and try to figure out the name of that awesome obscure song they heard on the radio. (Turns out it was David Bowie’s “Heroes”—surely 1991 Pittsburgh wasn’t that much of a burg?) On their worst days, they feel as if their lives are “an after-school special,” in Patrick’s words; on their best, the sky is the limit.

Chbosky has compressed the book’s events and slightly toned down the melodrama. He’s not a flashy filmmaker; instead of heightening teenage experience, he’s simply trying to capture it. The flash is already in a teen’s heart. It lives in the drama inside you, in how you feel driving down streets that seem to belong only to you and listening to songs that seem written just for you. Bowie’s “Heroes” speaks of the Berlin Wall, but the wall these kids are imagining is what they lean against at a school dance. Chbosky puts us back there too: “I, I could remember/ Standing by the wall.” To go back to that time and see *The Perks of Being a Wallflower*? It would be a rescue.

Religion

A newly examined fourth century Coptic papyrus reads, in part, "Jesus said to them, 'My wife ...'" Scholars say the finding sheds light on early Christian attitudes about sex and marriage



Did Jesus Have a Wife? A new fragment may provide fresh clues

By Jon Meacham

HE IS AMONG FRIENDS AND FOLLOWERS, doing what he often did: he is talking. In a Coptic papyrus fragment that scholars believe dates from the fourth century, Jesus of Nazareth appears to be in conversation about family and discipleship—Who is worthy? Who dwells with, and in, the Lord? Then the account contains a momentous line: "Jesus said to them, 'My wife ...'"

Written in Sahidic Coptic on a scrap of codex, these six words form the core of what Karen L. King of Harvard Divinity School is calling "the first known statement that explicitly claims Jesus had [a] wife." King is measured about what the text can and cannot tell us. "This fragment and that sentence is not evidence of Jesus' marital status," she says from Rome. The earliest evidence we have—the canonical New Testament—does not address the question of whether Jesus was married. Yet taken together with the contemporaneous gnostic gospels of Mary, Philip and Thomas, she argues, the papyrus, if in fact authentic, does shed light on debates within early Christianity about sexuality and marriage. Authenticating such things al-

ways presents challenges, and while a peer-reviewing process indicates the fragment is likely what it purports to be, experts will continue to investigate to ensure the document is not a forgery.

From the first hours after the Passion and, for believers, the Resurrection, the meaning of Jesus has been a subject of ferocious debate, a reminder that writings from the era have to be read with caution and a critical sensibility. Even the Gospels came into being not as straightforward biographies or histories in the way we understand biography or history. (The author of John was honest about this, noting that his book was written "that ye might believe.")

Different factions of Christians were claiming the Lord for their own purposes—a phenomenon that continues apace

The papyrus came to King's attention in 2010 by way of an anonymous collector. King released her findings in a draft of a forthcoming *Harvard Theological Review* article. The "Gospel of Jesus' Wife" papyrus seems to date from a period when early Christians were struggling to put sexuality and marriage in their proper place. Some believers appear to have favored celibacy as a route to spiritual purity. In the second half of the second century—possibly the period of the original composition of the Coptic papyrus—Clement of Alexandria wrote that there were those who "proudly say that they are imitating the Lord who neither married nor had any possession in this world." These more ascetic followers were enlisting an unmarried Jesus as a supporting example to buttress a case in favor of sexual virtue.

Perhaps then, King suggests, the new papyrus is a relic of a rival theological camp that held sex and marriage as positive goods. Different factions of Christians were claiming the Lord for their own purposes—a phenomenon that began as early as the Council of Jerusalem described in Acts and continues apace.

The debate captured on the codex appears to be over the worthiness of a Mary—either Jesus' mother, who is also mentioned, or a "wife" of Jesus named Mary—to be a disciple of Jesus, a question Jesus seems to answer in the affirmative. Serious observers have long noted that it would have been unusual for Jesus not to have been married. Careful readings of the gnostic texts informed by possible interpretations of the papyrus could point to a marriage between Jesus and Mary. Such a union might have been only spiritual in nature; it is difficult to imagine the canonical gospels failing to mention it if the two had had a traditional marriage. Given the chronological distance between Jesus' life and ministry and the composition of the document—at least 150 years may have elapsed—the most that can be said for the papyrus is that it raises intriguing possibilities. The search to answer the query Pilate put to Jesus in another conversation—"What is truth?"—will go on, one suspects, even to the end of the age. ■

Joel Stein



The Princess Diaries

In which I get to the bottom of my susceptibility to royal toplessness

ONE OF THE REASONS I'VE AVOIDED meeting the Queen of England is that I don't want to learn all the confusing rules: kiss her hand, curtsy, call her "Your Majesty" and use a special set of dishes. But I do know one thing for sure: I'm not supposed to see her boobs. So I was surprised when I heard that the future Queen of England, Kate Middleton, was shot by a telephoto lens while tanning topless at a villa in Provence. Even though as a straight male, I don't care about Kate Middleton, I do care very much about breasts, so I Googled pictures of them. For those of you who have not looked, her breasts are freakishly blurry.

No woman has ever sent me a picture of herself naked—not in the mail, to my cell phone, through Twitter or to my e-mail at joel_stein@timemagazine.com. Yet I have seen lots of photos of naked women. Many were famous women. Often I wasn't looking to see them. But links for various topless stars have popped up when I was doing completely innocent things, like reading my Twitter feed, going to Yahoo to check the e-mail account I give to people I don't like or visiting all-nude-celebrities.net. Last week, I hit my low point when I clicked to see topless photos that actress Alison Pill accidentally posted to her Twitter account because I just had to know what Alison Pill looked like topless. Then I had to find out who Alison Pill is.

There are few sexual things I feel squeamish about that didn't originate in a former Axis power. So I didn't know why I felt vaguely icky about looking at these photos. To figure out why, I e-mailed Janice Min, who used to sit a few offices down from me at TIME and helped create the complicated love-hate celebrity culture we live in when she edited *US Weekly*. "Joel, I think you are just pretending this

makes you feel bad!" she wrote back. "Any celebrity who somehow shows up nude on your portal home page has won the look-at-me game of the day, which is a constant game among 90% of celebrities." She also suggested that I'm living with the mores of a past generation, that the avalanche of nude pictures has turned them into background noise that no longer shocks viewers or hurts the viewed. "When is Lindsay Lohan not naked at this point?" she wrote.

This really made me think, right after



it really made me Google "Lindsay Lohan naked." It made me think that in this age of transparency and unlimited information, maybe topless royalty is inevitable. Kate Middleton is just another celebrity, using her fame to do philanthropy and vacation in villas in exchange for living in public, even when she thinks she's in private. When starlets take carefully posed nude photos of themselves on their phones or tan topless, it's hard to imagine that by now they don't know just how much free time we have at work.

I ran this theory by Sherry Turkle, an MIT professor whose book *Alone Together: Why We Expect More from Technology and Less from Each Other* contains the line, "Technology makes us forget what we know about life." She told me my justifications were stupid. According to Turkle, I was feeling bad for a good reason: it took peeping on British royalty, something that was undoubtedly punishable by death not long ago, to remind me that it's wrong to look at people naked without their permission. What happened to Kate Middleton seemed particularly unfair, because I'm pretty sure that the whole point of Kate Middleton is to find out what she's wearing. And what made me feel even worse was when I learned that the royal couple was spending the next week on an official visit to the Solomon Islands, where she would be photographed receiving garlands from topless tribeswomen. It's as if Anthony Weiner had to spend his post-scandal weekend at the Penile Museum of Penile Penises.

Apparently my morality about privacy had been scrambled by too many people posting too much personal information about themselves and others. "The nudity of the Duchess of Cambridge still feels transgressive," Turkle told me. "And the affirmation of the transgressive is important because it affirms boundaries." I felt like I was getting scolded twice: once by Turkle and again by the dictionary when I looked up those words.

I do long for the boundary of people controlling their own information. Because where the Duchess of Cambridge goes, one day we too will go. Not to a private villa in Provence, sadly, but to a place where we're exploited. And while no one outside a small group of gay men in former Axis powers will ever want to share a hairy, pale naked photo of me, I'm going to stop looking at private photos, even though that means I sometimes won't be part of the cultural conversation. I'm able to take this moral stance thanks to the many, many people on the Internet showing themselves naked on purpose. ■

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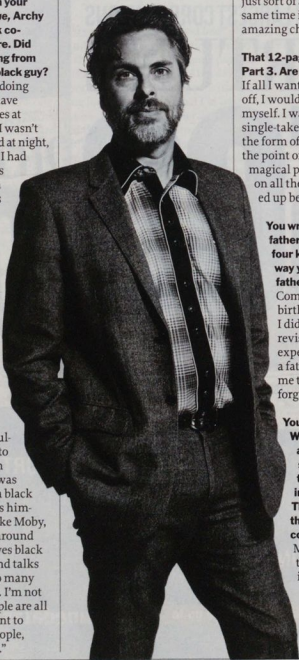
Chabon's new novel uses the word **choogling**. He says he got it from a T. Rex song



Pulitzer Prize-winning novelist **Michael Chabon** on race, fatherhood and writing box-office flops

A central character in your book *Telegraph Avenue*, Archy Stallings, is the black co-owner of a record store. Did you feel anxious writing from the point of view of a black guy?
While I was actually doing the writing, I didn't have any doubts or anxieties at all. It was only when I wasn't writing—lying in bed at night, thinking about what I had done. The challenge is always the same. Can you imagine what it's like to be somebody else or not?

But race is a charged subject. In the book, there's a white lawyer, *Moby*, who talks like a black guy. You didn't worry that that was you?
There are a lot of ways in which I address the problem of a white artist's adopting African-American culture. One of them is to present a white main character, Nat, who was raised primarily by a black woman. He separates himself from someone like *Moby*, who never grew up around black people, just loves black culture and music and talks like he's watched too many episodes of *The Wire*. I'm not naively saying, "People are all the same, and if I want to write about black people, there's no difference."



Why the interest in midwifery?
I think it has a fair claim to being one of the most fascinating jobs a human being could undertake to do. The drama of birth is so stark. It's just sort of a job, and at the same time it has all of this amazing charge around it.

That 12-page sentence in Part 3. Are you showing off?
If all I wanted to do was show off, I would have restrained myself. I was trying to do a single-take tracking shot in the form of a sentence and use the point of view of a semi-magical parrot to check in on all the characters. It ended up being 4,000 words.

You write a lot about fatherhood. Has having four kids changed the way you see your father?

Completely. With the birth of my oldest child, I didn't immediately revise my view, but the experience of failing as a father has inclined me to a much more forgiving attitude.

Your wife Ayelet Waldman has written about a pregnancy she wanted to terminate and initially you didn't. There's a lost son in this book. Is there a connection?
Maybe. I haven't thought of that, but it was a long time ago. I don't have regret. The termination was made because of a serious genetic abnormality.

But I still have a sense of loss and grief when I think of it. There was a place in my heart beginning to be made for that child, a little indentation I don't think will ever be filled. Maybe part of that longing was at the back of this sort of ghostly child who returns to Archy.

You wrote the screenplay for *John Carter*. How do you feel about that now?

I still feel that we made a very good movie. Solid. Entertaining. Breathtaking. If a movie set on Mars with flying ships, sword fighting, four-armed green guys, red princesses, villainous villains and dashing heroes doesn't sound like your kind of movie, I understand that, but for people who enjoy that sort of thing—I count myself among that group—I thought it was a perfectly serviceable product.

Do you still write from 10 p.m. to 3 a.m.?

That's my usual routine. I wish I could work in the daytime and after the kids leave for school, but I just can't make it flow during the day the way I can at night.

You make a lot of fun of Berkeley in this book—
I do?

It's not parody? Even the new-wave knitting store?

There is an avant-garde knitting store in Oakland. That's strict reportage. I love Berkeley. I love Oakland. Avant-garde knitting sounds like an exaggeration but is in fact accurate.

—BELINDA LUSCOMBE

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